

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.,
AREA

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-EIGHTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

JUNE 24, 25, AND 26, 1964
INCLUDING INDEX

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress [1946]; 60 Stat. 812, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2— RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q)(1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

* * * * *

RULE XII

LEGISLATIVE OVERSIGHT BY STANDING COMMITTEES

SEC. 136. To assist the Congress in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the Senate and the House of Representatives shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the Congress by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 88TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 9, 1963

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress,

* * * * *

(r) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine Members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

18. Committee on Un-American Activities.

(a) Un-American activities.

(b) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (1) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (2) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (3) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

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* * * * *

26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government.

SYNOPSIS

On June 24, 25, and 26, 1964, a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities held public hearings in Minneapolis, Minnesota, relating to the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party of the United States, its organization and objectives, and the strategic and tactical methods designed to aid in accomplishing those objectives; organizations created and controlled by the Communist Party to advance its policies; propaganda activities conducted in support thereof; and conspiratorial activities in association with foreign Communist governments.

Subcommittee Chairman Edwin E. Willis, in his opening remarks, noted that on February 18, 1964, Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, had held a press conference in Minneapolis during which he had asserted that:

One of the definite conclusions I have already come to is that the State of Minnesota needs a bigger Communist movement and a Communist Party, and we are going to do everything we can to give the Communists of Minnesota assistance both in the sense of speakers and literature and finance in order to raise the work of the Communist movement to a higher level. * * *

"Has the Communist Party lived up to the pledge made to the Communists of this district?", Mr. Willis asked in his statement opening the hearings. "Just what are the commissars of the Communist Party doing to build the Communist movement in this State?" "Who are their agents? What are they now doing to subvert the democratic process in this district?" The search for answers to these vital questions, he added, was a part of the purpose of the committee's hearings in Minneapolis.

The subcommittee was also authorized to inquire into the question of affiliation with Communist organizations—as distinguished from technical or formal membership in them.

Mr. Willis pointed out that the "Congress cannot and does not legislate in a vacuum." Its actions must be based on facts, nationally and locally, which are pertinent to legislation it is considering. A variety of bills dealing with communism and security had been referred to the committee. In order to determine intelligently whether they should be reported favorably to the House, the committee had to keep up to date on current Communist strategy and tactics. He said that the Minneapolis hearings were part of its effort to do this.

RUTHANN WITHROW

The first witness before the subcommittee on June 24 was Ruthann Withrow, an employee of the city of Minneapolis who had been a member of the Communist Party from May 1, 1958, until March of 1961, acting in cooperation with the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Miss Withrow's initial contact with the Communist Party had come about as a result of her mail request for a copy of the Communist pub-

lication *The Worker* which she had intended to use in preparing a term paper for a course in sociology at the University of Minnesota. Months later, she was contacted by a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee, a Communist front, who told her that he had received her letter. He informed her of the stand taken by *The Worker* and how active the Communist Party was in many different areas, such as "civil rights" and the "peace movement" in the Twin Cities areas.

Within the week she visited the offices of the FBI, where an official confirmed the facts about party activity given her by the member of the Freedom of the Press Committee. She agreed to act as an FBI contact within the party.

Miss Withrow, assumed to be a potential recruit by the party, was carefully eased into its ranks through the soft-sell of social affairs such as picnics and bazaars sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee in its capacity as a front for recruitment. When she first joined the Press Committee it was composed of both Communists and non-Communists, but eventually the latter dropped away. New ones were not encouraged to take their place, and the organization became completely Communist.

Prior to her admission into the party, Miss Withrow had been carefully watched. Her work for the Press Committee was a major factor in her acceptance. Prospective members were also screened by means of the Marxist study group technique where their ideas were drawn out, analyzed and revised by the discussion leader who was, of course, a party member. After the prospect became a party member, his education was continued within the party club to which he was assigned. The witness was accepted into the Communist Party on May Day (a significant party political holiday) in 1958.

Miss Withrow was soon elected chairman of her unit, the North Side Club. Meetings were held twice a month; one for the purpose of general and theoretical study, the other on the practical role the club would play in local affairs. Security precautions included the following techniques: notice of meetings by personal contact only or, if the telephone were required by last minute changes, the meeting was referred to verbally as a social "for coffee"; automobiles were required to be parked a block or more from the house where meetings were held; when meetings ended, members left in ones and twos.

In addition to Miss Withrow's North Side Club, five other clubs were active, to her knowledge, in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area: Industrial 1 and 2; Women's Branch; South Side; and Lenin Branch.

In the late spring of 1960, the party decided to penetrate the Democratic-Farmer-Labor (DFL) clubs, legitimate units of the Democratic Party. Miss Withrow, who had been in the DFL's Fifth Ward Club prior to her admission in the party, testified that the Communists were instructed not to reveal on their DFL application form, as was required, the fact that they were members of the Communist Party.

Their main objective was to influence enough people within that organization so that, without it being known, the DFL would promote the policies and programs the Communist Party wished promoted. These programs and policies would then have the backing of a respectable organization, she said. Happily, she concluded, they had little success.

Regarding another organization, the local Parent Teachers Association, which was also a target of infiltration by the party, Miss Withrow testified that—

one party member, a woman, who was a member of a local PTA, reported at this club meeting * * * that she had been asked to run for an office in the PTA * * *. She was given definite orders at that time that she was not to run for an office herself. She was in some quarters known as being a member of the Communist Party and they did not want that much known of the leadership. What she was told to do was to pick out some other woman in the PTA that she felt that she could most easily influence * * * get this woman elected, and then * * * support certain issues without it ever being known that the Communist Party was behind them.

These instructions were given to a Mrs. Betty Smith, a member of Miss Withrow's club, by Samuel K. Davis, State secretary of the Communist Party. The witness did not have direct knowledge of the outcome of this party venture.

In the area of trade union activities, the party was very secretive. All discussion was restricted to the State secretary and the members of the Communist Party directly involved.

Regarding "peace" and pacifist activities, Miss Withrow stated that "every party member in the city was ordered, if at all possible, to take part in any peace demonstration that occurred * * *." Party members were "definitely supposed to take part" in the peace walks in Minneapolis and St. Paul. If they did not they had to explain why at the next meeting of their club. The purpose, of course, the witness explained, was to gain support within these organizations for the policies the Communist Party wanted promoted.

In addition to promoting Communist programs within non-Communist groups, party agents were expected to exert pressure for or against certain persons within these organizations. The party, for example, was determined to remove from the membership of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor [Party] a Mrs. Ruth Gordienko—because she had previously served as an undercover operative for the FBI. A leaflet containing inflammatory charges against her was circulated in the DFL for the purpose of discrediting Mrs. Gordienko in the eyes of the membership, even though she had been sponsored by the chairman of that organization. Miss Withrow was repeatedly ordered to press the party's smears against the woman but refused to do so, a factor which subsequently led to her failure to obtain support for her own reelection as chairman of the North Side Club of the party in 1961.

Following her appearance as a Government witness before the Subversive Activities Control Board on June 29, 1963, Miss Withrow was similarly attacked by the party in a circular branding her an "informer."

Significant information was given by this witness relating to the all-out effort of the party to establish a national youth organization in 1960. The sequence of events in Minneapolis leading to its establishment began in May 1960 at a meeting attended by Gus Hall, national secretary of the Communist Party, and Sam Davis, secretary for the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the party. The purpose of the

meeting was to generate support and funds for the new youth group and to get advance subscriptions for its forthcoming publication, *New Horizons for Youth*, which would be used as a "door opener to organizing youth activity."

Miss Withrow accepted the task of organizing the activity in her area. Phil Bart, national organizational secretary of the CPUSA, provided her with materials for promoting *New Horizons for Youth*. In addition, Danny Rubin, director of all youth activities for the CPUSA, came to Minnesota to contribute his experience to Davis' efforts in the State and to Miss Withrow's locally, in Minneapolis. Other key cities across the Nation were also on Rubin's itinerary in his effort to promote a party-controlled national youth conference in Chicago on December 30, 1960, at which the new Communist youth group was to be established.

J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the FBI, issued a release a week prior to the organizational conference, committee counsel noted, which included the following statement on the nature of the new group:

Its purpose is to formulate plans for a new national youth organization—one whose programs and activities will be clandestinely directed by party members.

On December 29, 1960, one day before the conference, Danny Rubin issued, in reply, a press release which stated, in part:

We refuse to allow Mr. Hoover and people with such paranoia to inject communism as an issue into our conference. We welcome participation by anyone who agrees with the purpose for which the conference is called without regard to their political label.

FBI operative Withrow testified, however, that Rubin's claim was false. She said that attendance at the conference was "by invitation only" and, in addition, that there were "young men who were keeping everybody out except those that could prove that they were delegates." Party control was evident on the floor itself, she said, "through two of the men who were leaders at this conference, who I knew to be party members." Overall control of the Chicago conference was effected by Danny Rubin and Danny Queen. Miss Withrow stated that "if somebody would bring up an issue you could see them check it out with Mr. Rubin first. And then quite often if some controversy developed, they would look at him to settle it."

The national youth group formed at Chicago was given the name "Progressive Youth Organizing Committee." Mrs. Alva Buxenbaum was elected chairman; Mr. Marvin Markman, executive secretary and organizer.

(Markman had been identified as a member of the Communist Party before this committee on February 2, 1960, committee counsel stated, while Mrs. Buxenbaum had aided the Communist cause through participation in various functions, including the first annual convention of Advance, an organization against which the Attorney General of the United States had initiated proceedings as a Communist front.)

Miss Withrow had an opportunity to see Communist "democracy" in action during her work with a committee charged with drafting a "Youth Bill of Rights" at the Chicago conference. In the beginning, she said, there was "quite a lively discussion" but no action was taken because the drafting committee's leaders informed the group that a proposed bill was coming from "the people on the East Coast." When this draft arrived, it was read, voted on, brought on the floor, and accepted.

When Miss Withrow returned to Minneapolis after the conference, she met with the State party leaders to report on the youth meeting. After that, she was "to start organizing a definite youth group, taking advantage, if possible, of the paper *New Horizons* as a focal point, but to start organizing young people into an organized group, which * * * when it was running, would then affiliate itself with the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee."

The name of the new local group was Youth for Political Action, she said, and "after it was formed and running, the officers * * * were to affiliate themselves with the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee."

Miss Withrow left the Communist Party in March 1961. She had decided to leave the organization at least 3 or 4 months prior to her resignation because her party assignment to youth activities and the party's exploitation of young people had made her "a little sick." She explained to the committee that during the Chicago conference the delegates had been allowed to take notes—a practice usually forbidden. She had made written references, during the course of the conference, to the fact that Rubin and Queen—and through them, the party—completely controlled the proceedings of the meetings. Subsequently, her notes were discovered and she was compelled to give a full explanation at several meetings justifying her actions "from the party point of view." She also had been directed to write a Marxist analysis of what she had done wrong. This she refused to do. Following this episode she resigned.

Miss Withrow described the Communists' tactics for luring young recruits into the party in these words:

they take issues that are important to the young people, get to know the youth this way, and then turn the young person's attention to * * * more important issues * * * gain their confidence, and then over a period of time start using them for their own means * * *.

Since party personnel in her district were "getting older all the time," she testified, the party was afraid "they will all die off" and it would not be able to continue. Moreover, since communism is the movement of the future, in their view, it would take the enthusiasm of youth to make it go forward "to answer the country's problems."

This outlook accounted for the fact that the party did not want the witness to resign, even though she was technically in disgrace. She was one of its youngest club chairmen and therefore useful in its youth work. She was given a 6 weeks' leave of absence and told to use the time "to do some strong studying in Marxist classics and change my attitude," she said. The party's "therapy," however, failed.

NORMAN JOHN BOEHNKE

Norman John Boehnke was the second witness to testify on June 24. Mr. Boehnke was born in Bellingham, Minnesota. He has been employed as crew dispatcher by the Great Northern Railroad since 1951. His introduction to communism and the party came about in 1958

when a complete stranger, a Socialist Labor Party member¹ named Jack Barisonzi, came to his apartment one Sunday afternoon soliciting funds for Morton Sobell's legal defense. (Sobell had been convicted of the charge of conspiring to collaborate with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in stealing classified atomic bomb information on behalf of the Soviet Union.)

Barisonzi, a packinghouse worker in south St. Paul, proceeded to inform Boehnke of the Marxist view of history and nationalism, concluding with the theme that "we are moving into a society of socialism and * * * man's allegiance ought to be to this current of history, rather than to his native land." After Barisonzi left the witness' apartment, Boehnke asked himself how an American citizen who was gainfully employed, as Barisonzi was, could use his freedom to try and free a traitor like Sobell. The following week he contacted the Minneapolis office of the FBI where an agent suggested he accept Barisonzi's invitation to attend a meeting for Sobell's defense. The witness did not go to this meeting, but later, with the concurrence of the FBI, did attend several meetings of the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, where he was introduced to many of its key people, including Pat Gleason, who told the witness that he had been in the 1932 bonus march in Washington, D.C., as a member of the Communist Party.

When asked by committee counsel to describe the objectives of the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born,² Boehnke replied:

Well, its stated objective is as the name indicates; it is for the protection of the foreign born. Now, I attended that meeting that night in which Louise Pettibone Smith was the principal speaker. However, I never heard her make any reference to what protection they had given to any foreign borns, except those who were members of the Communist Party. * * *

The witness declared that the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was a branch of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and that it served as a "screening device" of foreigners who might become potential candidates for recruitment into the party.

As had been the case with Miss Withrow, Boehnke was assigned to a Marxist study group for the purpose of indoctrination and further screening. He spent over a year in such preparatory "study."

The witness was accepted into the party conditionally in 1960 by Sam Davis, party leader in the district, pending further "investiga-

¹ The Socialist Labor Party, which was founded in 1890, claims to be the "only bona fide party of Socialism in America." Its publication states that it has "no connection whatsoever with other parties * * * calling themselves Socialist or Communist * * *." The SLP has not been the subject of any hearing before this House committee nor has it been cited as subversive by any Federal authority.

² Counsel offered for the record the fact that this organization, which was established on May 21, 1952, had been cited by this committee as a regional unit of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. The national body had been itself cited as Communist by the U.S. Attorney General in 1948. As early as 1942 it had been classified by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States." The Subversive Activities Control Board found that the Communist Party, in establishing the ACPFB, had for its purposes "to seek to prevent the denaturalization and deportation of officers and members of the Party * * * and to win the good will of the foreign born and obtain from them adherents to and support for the party and for party programs."

tion" to assure his loyalty "to the cause." Several months later Boehnke was assigned to and attended his first club meeting at Ruthann Withrow's North Side Club, where he was admitted into party membership formally. His supposed ideological purity, the payment of an initiation fee of 50 cents, familiarity with the party oath, and a subscription to *The Worker* launched Norman Boehnke into his twin roles of Communist and undercover operative for the FBI.

In discussing party organization, Boehnke pointed out that all activities of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the party were directed from the Twin Cities. The witness noted parenthetically that this district was proud of its contribution to the party cause in that Gus Hall, national leader of American Communists and graduate of the Lenin Institute of political warfare, was a Minnesotan by birth.

Boehnke said that it was the function of the district committee to organize clubs in upstate Minnesota and both Dakotas. The district secretary's job was to oversee the activities of the clubs, to promote the party's publication, *The Worker*, and in general to see that the respective branches were carrying out their functions and the directives of the party.

Beneath the party's district structure were the two city committees of St. Paul and Minneapolis. Their membership was composed of the chairmen of the clubs in the respective cities. At the city committee meetings, it was the duty of the club chairmen to report on the activities of their clubs, whether they were meeting twice a month as required, and whether dues and other obligations were being met. These city committees provide the continuity and control between the state apparatus and the local clubs as a "sort of an overseer," Boehnke said.

While the party had encountered growing opposition in recent years, it attempted to minimize the ill effects of it by means of pep talks to the membership and by taking all the credit for organizing a host of activities. It "chalks up a long list of successes," including demonstrations for peace, demonstrations to ban nuclear testing, sit-ins, freedom rides, and demonstrations to defeat the ban on Communist speakers on college and university campuses, he said.

In the area of political activity, the witness stated that the party—

always selected candidates who promise to be "soft on communism," who promise to * * * stand up for laws, amendments, legislation that will give the Communist Party a little more elbowroom * * * if a candidate makes a statement that he will vote to abolish * * * the House Committee on Un-American Activities, they automatically * * * support that candidate.

Party propaganda is carefully tailored to the party's targets. Boehnke pointed out that in respect to housewives, mothers, and women's groups, peace is the primary appeal. The basic purpose of the party's peace tactic is the supporting role it plays in behalf of Soviet military policy. The witness elaborated:

The Communist Party of the United States, as well as every Communist Party in the world, is fully aware that * * * the balance of military power is in favor of the United States. If

it were to come to war tomorrow * * * the Communist powers would be defeated. Their immediate need is to stall the war so that there will be "peace" * * * but if * * * we were weaker than the Soviet Union, then * * * they would not hesitate to precipitate a war.

Boehnke's testimony substantiated Miss Withrow's on a number of counts, including the security measures taken as a result of the Supreme Court's decision of June 5, 1961, which forced the party to go deeper underground. He also stressed the effort expended by the party in the recruitment of young Americans which "takes years of preparation." The witness declared that the Communist Party has had "tremendous success" in cultivating the young.

On the subject of the success of known Communists in obtaining speaking engagements before college groups, the witness said that while he had heard high ranking officials of the party speak on campuses in the Twin City area, "not once have I been able to hear them say, or tell us, what communism actually is in practice." He elaborated:

They have never told us why Khrushchev had to build up the "Wall of Shame" in Berlin, why they don't have free elections behind the Iron Curtain, why he had to send in the Red Army to butcher the people of Hungary. All I have heard these Communists do was use their freedom to tear down America * * * I can see absolutely nothing good or worthwhile, letting a Communist speak on our campuses.

Boehnke testified that he was assigned a variety of tasks as a Communist. As a guard at a party picnic, an event ironically billed as a "freedom of the press" outing, he was instructed to bar all non-Communists—which, of course, included newspaper reporters. Boehnke said that Rose Tillotson Renaud, secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party, and Ralph Taylor, its chairman, were also the secretary and chairman, respectively, of the Press Committee.

In addition, the witness said that even before he was officially a party member, the Communists kept him busy. He was assigned various research activities which included the submission of technical intelligence on the railroad which employed him. At other times he was required to walk the streets distributing party literature.

Failure to submit to party discipline and duties subjected the offending member either to the embarrassment of self-criticism or outright expulsion, he said. Even those with rank and seniority were not exempt. The former chairman of Boehnke's district, Clarence Sharp, was purged for his refusal to admit his "guilt and apologize for his mistake" in not properly organizing a meeting which featured as a speaker Frank Wilkinson, executive director of the National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee. Sam Davis, general secretary of the district, blamed the meeting's failure on Sharp, who then had to appear before "what can be described as a Communist court," said Boehnke. The final result was that Sharp had the option of confession or expulsion. Boehnke said that when Sharp left the "court," he remarked:

Thank God I'm living in America. If this was Soviet America or if I were living in Soviet Russia, I would now be

facing the firing squads; however, it is now the American laws that are protecting me.

In his testimony on party front groups, the witness made a significant point regarding party "affiliation," as distinguished from technical membership. In discussing the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights,¹ an emergency committee formed after the Supreme Court decision of June 1961, Boehnke said he had met one functionary named Tania Hemmingson who was quite active with this committee, but who "on a number of occasions" had told him that she did not join the party because if she did she would become subject to deportation [because she was a naturalized citizen]. The witness had seen her, however, in "closed-door sessions of the Communist Party."

Congressman Willis commented that the House Committee is interested in developing information on people who are "affiliated" with the party and take part in its affairs but who prefer to remain in the background, thus avoiding a technical membership status.

Boehnke testified that the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights tried to conceal its association with the party "for the purpose that it could attract people who have a natural instinct to uphold the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution."

Mr. Boehnke's final comments, which laid bare the myth represented by the party that it was primarily just another "political party," touched upon his industrial intelligence-collection role during his period of "indoctrination." Counsel asked the witness about the reports he had prepared, "the subject matter of which would reveal useful information relative to * * * possibly defense facilities * * *". Concerning this intelligence assignment, the witness reaffirmed that on a number of occasions he was asked to provide the party with information on the railroad. He wrote a number of reports, he said, which were turned over to Sam Davis, who in turn forwarded them to Chicago.

At this point, Boehnke concluded his initial appearance but was recalled on the last day of hearings, at which time he testified as follows:

He was introduced at a party meeting to a John Howard Tillotson, a student at the University of Minnesota, by Betty Smith, Boehnke's club chairman and district executive committee member. Tillotson, however, declined to participate that evening at another party meeting when invited because it would be "too obvious that he had association with the Communist Party," said Boehnke. Betty Smith, he continued, further characterized Tillotson to him as a "hard worker for the cause" and suggested Boehnke "work with" Tillotson, who "was the channel * * * that the Communist Party used to extend its influence and activities at the University of Minnesota."

At another party meeting called to discuss the selection of delegates to the Soviet-sponsored Helsinki youth festival in 1962, John Tillot-

¹ Committee counsel noted for the record that the House Committee conducted an investigation of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights in October 1961 and found that it was controlled by the Communist Party for the purpose of conducting mass activity and propaganda with the end objective of reversing the Supreme Court's decisions of June 1961, which had upheld the constitutionality of the registration and disclosure provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Smith Act membership clause. Facts developed during that hearing revealed the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights to be a creature of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights.

son's name, as well as that of John Forichette, was proposed as that of a prospective delegate. Forichette, a member of Boehnke's club, declined the trip since he was a city employee of Minneapolis, but Tillotson attended the youth festival, Boehnke said.

The witness testified that in the fall of 1962 Tillotson, at the home of Rose Tillotson Renaud, his grandmother, discussed a forthcoming article which the youth was preparing for publication in *New Horizons*, the official youth organ of the party.

Concluding, Boehnke summarized his party experience as follows:

It is generally believed by the public that the Communist Party of the United States is just another political party. However, my experience in the party has given me mounting evidence that it is a party dominated by the Soviet Union.

He cited as an example the fact that he had edited for Mr. and Mrs. Sam Davis moving picture films which they had taken while traveling in the U.S.S.R. He said they had gone to the Soviet Union not simply for the visit but to attend the Lenin Institute.

Boehnke testified that after Mrs. Gordienko had first been publicly identified as an FBI informant, her photograph was circulated within the party circles to embarrass her. At this time, she said, Claude McDonald suggested that Mrs. Gordienko should be pushed down a flight of stairs.

Committee Chairman Willis expressed the committee's appreciation to the witness as follows:

The great majority of the citizens of this Nation * * * are fully devoted to this country and the principles on which it is founded. Most of us, in some way, give something of ourselves to our country. A few give far more than others. You and Miss Withrow are two of those few.

CLAUDE McDONALD

The first witness during the second day of hearings on June 25 was Claude McDonald, identified as a member of the Communist Party by both Miss Withrow and Mr. Boehnke, who knew him as such during their active years in the organization. He refused to discuss party membership and, with the exception of stating his name and address, invoked the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment and also other amendments in refusing to answer any questions asked by committee counsel.

McDonald refused to refute or affirm the statements made under oath by the two previous witnesses, namely, that he was a member of the district executive committee and a high official in the party's tri-State territory. Staff investigation indicated that he had also been a party member in 1943 while working as the financial secretary of Local 1152, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America. When asked about this, the witness refused to answer for the same reasons.

The witness continued to plead the fifth and other amendments rather than deny committee information to the effect that he sponsored and attended a meeting of the American Peace Crusade in Washington, D.C., on March 15, 1951. The APC, committee counsel

noted, was cited as a Communist front in a 1957 SACB report. It had been organized during February 1951 in the New York City offices of the national Communist Party and had purportedly held its March meeting for the purpose of launching a nationwide organization to which would be affiliated various local groups throughout the country. McDonald declined to admit subsequent participation in the formation of the Minneapolis Council for Peace—later changed to the Minneapolis Chapter of the APC, a local unit classified as an “integral part” of the parent body by the same SACB report.

When asked whether he had provided funds for the party or the use of his home for the concealment of one Martin Mackie, a member of the party's underground apparatus during the 1950's, the witness again invoked the fifth and other amendments in his refusal to answer.

Miss Withrow had told the SACB on March 17, 1964, that a party announcement in early 1961 had designated a four-man committee, including McDonald, to reactivate the party's city committee in Minneapolis. The witness, who belonged to the same Communist club as Miss Withrow, invoked the fifth and other amendments when asked if this were true.

Similarly, the witness refused to confirm or deny committee evidence that his credentials as a delegate to the Democratic-Farmer-Labor organization had been challenged. He invoked constitutional protection when asked if he had circulated a document entitled, “There Is Nothing To Fear But Fear Itself” in which he castigated those who informed the DFL credentials committee of an attempt by the Communist Party to infiltrate the convention with Communist delegates.

He also declined to state on the basis of the fifth and other amendment grounds whether, in his high party position in the tri-State party territory, he was aware of any success achieved by the party “to raise the Communist movement to a higher level” in the district as Gus Hall, general secretary of the CPUSA, had promised.

OSCAR MARTIN MACKIE

Oscar Martin Mackie was the second witness on June 25. Mackie (alias Maki) was employed by Gopher Bumper Exchange, Inc., and the previous day had been identified under oath by Mr. Boehnke as a member of the Communist Party in the latter's own cell—the North Side Club.

Chairman Willis posed the following question to Mackie:

We hear and read a great deal about the alleged fact that this committee asks questions without the right of confrontation and all the rest of it. If Mr. Boehnke was called to the stand and resworn and would confront you so you could know exactly who your so-called accuser is, would you answer the question?

Mackie again invoked the fifth, sixth, and first amendments in his refusal to answer. He also asserted these same amendments in declining to answer if it was not true that the Communist Party, if it were successful, would abolish these three amendments to the U.S. Constitution.

When confronted with a statement contained in the *Daily Worker* of November 24, 1942, naming Mackie as State secretary of the Com-

munist Party in Minnesota, the witness declined to say whether this was true, as well as whether he was the party's candidate for the offices of Governor of Minnesota in 1940 or for mayor of Duluth in 1941.

Mackie had also been listed as an alternate member of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association in 1945, according to House Committee information, and in 1946 was appointed chairman of the Minnesota Communist Party.

When confronted with his 1959 application for membership in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, on which he had written "no" to the questions: 1) "Are you a Communist?" and 2) "Are you in sympathy with the Communist philosophy?", Mackie declined to state whether his written replies were true at that time or whether, if true, his answer did in fact contradict committee information to the contrary—as well as the testimony of sworn witnesses. Mackie again invoked the fifth and other amendments in his refusal to answer.

RUTH LOIS GORDIENKO

Mrs. Ruth Lois Gordienko, the committee's third witness on June 25, was a resident of north Minneapolis and had been a dedicated member of the Communist Party of the United States during 1948 and 1949 and of the Communist Party of Canada in 1950. Mrs. Gordienko broke with the party over the issue of the Korean war. Following her return to the United States in 1950, she ceased all her party activities, but did not give notice or resign from the party formally. In 1952 she agreed to act as an undercover contact for the FBI on certain Communist-front activities.

Mrs. Gordienko had become a Communist through her former husband, George Gordienko, a professional wrestler and Canadian Communist who came to the United States on a work visa and later became a premedical student at the University of Minnesota.

The witness testified that prior to her marriage her husband-to-be indoctrinated her with his beliefs that the American Government was "corrupt" and "imperialistic" and that the "Soviet Union was the nation that was going to lead the world in the ultimate goal of communism on a worldwide basis." Part of the witness' indoctrination included attendance with her husband at the Marxist Socialist Club on the campus of the University of Minnesota. The purpose of this "Communist-front organization," according to Mrs. Gordienko, was to interest "young people into looking into communism, hoping to eventually recruit them." The Marxist study club was under the direction of one Kenneth Tilsen, a University of Minnesota law student "known on campus as a Communist Party spokesman," whom she knew in fact to be a party member. Operating behind a reformist facade in discussions on the Negro question, agronomy theories, etc., the Marxist campus club never advertised itself as Communist.

Following one year's attendance at these club meetings, Mrs. Gordienko, though not a student at the university, enrolled in the Communist Party through Kenneth Tilsen and was assigned to its university women's club which was directed by Tilsen's wife, Rachel. The club, made up of the wives of University of Minnesota students, was one of four party clubs on the campus. In addition to her duty to become "fully knowledgeable" about Marxist-Leninist theories, the witness

had to distribute party literature throughout the student housing area. She testified that one of the four cells on campus was a secret "professional cell," consisting of professors and assistant professors who were "highly protected" from exposure.

Mrs. Gordienko became aware of the existence of this club in 1948 through Rose Tillotson Renaud, who managed the party's bookstore and who was later the party's principal executive officer for the Minnesota-Dakotas District. Mrs. Gordienko received her first lesson in party secrecy and discipline when she innocently asked Rose Renaud which professors belonged to the professional cell. Renaud immediately admonished the witness for her naive inquisitiveness.

In the area of party youth activities, Mrs. Gordienko's testimony corroborated that of Miss Ruthann Withrow. Mrs. Gordienko stated that the party's youth had their own separate cells but, following the establishment of the Labor Youth League, younger Communists "were assimilated into * * * the adult cell groups, and because of this switching I was assigned to the North Side cell of the Communist Party."

The witness was assigned tasks in the North Side Club as follows: to help organize and recruit members for the Labor Youth League and to "infiltrate into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People," which "the Communist Party of Minneapolis wanted to take over." However, not enough party members attended the NAACP election to effect their plan to "pack the meeting" and therefore did not take over the leadership, she said. Those persons responsible for this failure were later chastised by the party leadership.

Mrs. Gordienko's husband, George, left the University of Minnesota, found employment in a flour mill, and was reassigned to a trade union cell of the Communist Party. He subsequently learned that the U.S. Immigration Service was going to deport him to Canada, his native land, as an undesirable alien. Against the party's wishes, he decided not to fight the pending Government action and to return to Canada voluntarily before proceedings were instituted against him. The party, therefore, had him and his wife transferred to the Communist Party of Canada through a letter written by Carl Ross, the district secretary, to another Mr. Ross, a Canadian party functionary. When the Gordienkos moved to the province of Manitoba in late 1949, they were "immediately accepted into the Communist Party in Canada automatically and were assigned to a cell group in Winnipeg."

Shortly thereafter, they were reassigned to the role of "sleepers," that is, they were to disassociate themselves from "any members of the party, even on a personal level" and then "assimilate within society, making the complete break with the party," she recalled. The purpose of this maneuver, she said, was to provide the party with "the second-string leadership of the Province of Manitoba, which would take over immediately the Communist Party apparatus on an underground basis if the Canadian Government were to remove * * * these leaders from their activity as the directors." In such an eventuality, she remarked, her husband was to assume the function of educational director, while she would administer the party's financial reports.

The witness remained in Canada during the year 1950, returning to the United States in early 1951 as a result of her disenchantment with the party line on the Korean war which was, in effect, that "the

Americans had started a war of aggression upon other peoples" and that "we were trying to subjugate the Korean people." Mrs. Gordienko held that the "American Government had gone * * * to assist the Koreans in holding onto the freedoms that they had." However, when she expressed these beliefs, Mr. Gordienko criticized her by stating, "You are nothing but a damn capitalist."

The witness returned to Minneapolis following this episode. She informed the House Committee that while this incident precipitated her withdrawal from party affairs, two other prior factors had contributed to her defection:

First of all, the one reservation I had, which I did not voice, was the fact that I came from a good Christian family. Once I got into the Communist Party I fully realized I could not hold Christian ideals upon which our Nation has been founded * * * which is the strength of our Nation and become a good Communist. You can't do both. * * *

The second reservation * * * that I had was very startling to me. When I was in discussion with Communists * * * when they discussed how or what would take place in our city when the revolution came * * * I was told that we would blow up the bridges in Minneapolis, we would barricade the streets, the mass communication system would be taken over by the Communist Party. * * * For this type of politics my stomach was weak.

During 1951, Mrs. Gordienko was inactive in the Communist movement. Subsequently, however, following a visit to the local offices of the FBI, she began working as a Federal operative in three party fronts: the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the Freedom of the Press Committee, and the Minneapolis Chapter of the American Peace Crusade. She was a board member of the latter group. Ironically, this group was a party front which generated protests against America's role in the Korean war—the policy which had previously led to Mrs. Gordienko's break with communism.

Committee counsel asked the witness if the following statement by the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee relating to the American Peace Crusade reflected her experience with that organization:

As a part of Soviet psychological warfare against the United States, Communist fronts seek to paralyze America's will to resist Communist aggression by idealizing Russia's aims and methods, discrediting the United States, spreading defeatism and demoralization. * * *

The witness replied that it was a "very fitting explanation of the American Peace Crusade."

She concluded her testimony by observing, relative to her appearing as a witness before the committee, that she had once been very dedicated to communism and to the U.S.S.R., but that after realizing her error, "my attitude since * * * has been, if I could do this much for Russia, I certainly can do this much for my own country."

KENNETH E. TILSEN

Kenneth E. Tilsen, the next witness, was born in New Leipzig, North Dakota, had been a resident of St. Paul, Minnesota, since 1933, and a practicing attorney in the city since his graduation from the

University of Minnesota Law School in 1950. Tilsen had been identified by Mrs. Gordienko as a member of the Communist Party and its leading spokesman on the University of Minnesota campus.

He read a prepared opening statement to the effect that the committee had no legislative purpose in soliciting information about his background prior to September 23, 1950—the date of passage of the Internal Security Act. Chairman Willis, after restating the committee resolution, pointed out that Tilsen's objection lacked validity because the resolution authorizing the Minneapolis hearings had other legislative purposes in addition to that of monitoring the Internal Security Act.

The witness was then asked to confirm or deny the substance of Mrs. Gordienko's statement, which he had heard the day before, that she knew him to be a leading party member on the University of Minnesota campus in 1948 and that he had enrolled her in the party.

Following an exchange between the witness and chairman concerning the subjects of executive sessions, premature revelation of witnesses' names, committee responsibilities and witnesses' rights, Tilsen testified that he was not a member of the Communist Party—and had not been one during the period concerning which, according to his claim, the committee had authority to interrogate him—that is, since September 23, 1950. Without invoking the self-incrimination clause of the fifth amendment, he refused to respond to questions pertaining to his activities in 1948 and 1949 on the basis of a 10-point memorandum offered, but not accepted by the chairman, as grounds for refusal to answer. Though his objections were overruled, he still refused to answer about his pre-1950 party activities.

When asked whether, since his 1950 demarcation date, he had had any affiliation or discussion with any persons known to him to be, or to have been, members of the Communist Party, the witness said he had not. He refused to answer when questioned about the activities of Rose Tillotson Renaud on the University of Minnesota campus, particularly her efforts on behalf of a secret professional cell of professors.

ROSE TILLOTSON RENAUD

Rose Renaud, identified under oath by Norman Boehnke as district secretary, the highest executive position of the Communist Party in the Minnesota-Dakotas District, refused on the grounds of the first, fifth, and sixth constitutional amendments to acknowledge this identification. Other than giving her name, address, and birth date, she employed the same objections in refusing to testify regarding any knowledge of various matters about which testimony had been received, including her succession to Sam Davis' position as the district's top official, the secret professional cell at the University of Minnesota, Ralph W. Taylor as the party's district chairman, the current membership of the party's district, and the channel for party directives and instructions from Gus Hall in New York City.

Finally, citing the same reasons, she refused to admit whether she was the party's candidate for mayor of St. Paul in 1940 or to corroborate Miss Withrow's statement concerning the party's elaborate recruiting activities in the youth field.

JAMES A. BROWN

James A. Brown (also known as Jack Brown) declined to answer the committee's questions on the grounds of the fifth and other amendments, except to disclose his name, address, and birth date. He refused to affirm or deny Boehnke's testimony that he had been a member of the city committee in Minneapolis, that Ralph Taylor was its secretary, or that he himself was chairman of the South Side Club of the party.

He also cited the fifth and other amendments in refusing to answer when asked if he had been active in party trade union activity and whether he had attended the party's 1960 farm conference in Minneapolis at which Gus Hall had expounded the party's line on agricultural issues.

CARL ROSS

Carl Ross, identified by Mrs. Gordienko as the party's intermediary who facilitated the transferral of the Gordienkos from the American to the Canadian Communist Party, declined on fifth and other amendment grounds to answer questions about this and other information concerning his activities supplied by her. Ross gave his name and address but declined for the same reasons to state whether, as stated in published reports, he had been a national official of the Communist Party for almost 30 years.

He declined to answer, on the same grounds, questions about his activities in the party following Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin at the 20th Soviet Party Congress in February 1956, and to state whether he had been appointed to the "collective leadership" and the National Executive Committee of the CPUSA in 1957. The witness also refused to confirm his publicized break with the party in 1958 or to state whether he was still a party member.

CLARENCE H. SHARP

The next witness, Clarence H. Sharp, had been identified by Mr. Boehnke as a former chairman of the party's Minnesota-Dakotas District. Boehnke testified that Sharp had been removed from office and expelled from the party for failure to carry out a directive concerning arrangements for Frank Wilkinson's speaking tour. Sharp employed the fifth and other amendments in his failure to respond to this inquiry. He again took refuge under the fifth and other amendments when asked by the chairman whether he was under party "pressure" to remain mute, even though he apparently had not been a party member since 1963. The witness was informed that consideration would be given to granting him immunity from prosecution should he agree to testify at a later date, thus removing any fear he might have of self-incrimination.

JOHN EDWARD FORICHETTE

The first witness to be heard on Friday, June 26, was John Forichette, a city engineer's assistant, who was employed by the city of Minneapolis and identified as an active member of the Communist Party by Miss Withrow and Mr. Boehnke. The witness, invoking the fifth and other amendments, declined to admit party membership or

whether he had used two different middle names (that is, William and Edward) when applying on two different occasions (7 years apart) for employment with the city of Minneapolis.

Forichette, on the same grounds, refused to answer when asked whether he had truthfully written "No" on his 1960 and 1961 applications for city employment to the question:

Are you a member of any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States?

Counsel brought out that as an assistant to the city engineer, Forichette had access to official plans concerning highways, bridges, water and light facilities in Minneapolis, etc. The witness refused to disclose whether he had transmitted any technical intelligence acquired on his job to the Communist Party.

He also invoked the same constitutional privileges when asked the following questions based on the testimony of Miss Withrow and Mr. Boehnke: whether in 1959 he was treasurer of the Miscellaneous Branch of the party in Minneapolis; his residence was used for meetings of the North Side Club; he was elected club secretary of *The Worker* in 1961; he helped activate Marxist youth groups in the Twin City area and was the appointed delegate, along with Miss Withrow, to the party's Chicago youth conference in late 1960.

JOHN HOWARD TILLOTSON

John Howard Tillotson, subject of Miss Withrow's and Mr. Boehnke's testimony, refused on the basis of the fifth and other amendments to verify whether he had attended functions of the Freedom of the Press Committee and the Youth for Political Action; acted as a Communist conduit for activities on the University of Minnesota campus; attended the 1962 Helsinki youth festival—there to support Communist anti-American propaganda objectives; prepared articles for a party publication; shunned closed-door party meetings, thereby avoiding the technicality of party membership; was a member of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, as stated in the *Minnesota Daily*.

Tillotson further declined to discuss committee information that he had attended PYOC meetings in New York in June 1962 and again in 1963. Nor would the witness discuss on the grounds of the fifth and other amendments whether, following President Kennedy's announcement of the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, he had distributed leaflets on the University of Minnesota campus on October 24 in support of the Cuban Communist regime or engaged in any local "peace" programs in Minneapolis.

HANLEY LEON HEMMINGSON

Hanley Leon Hemmingson of Warroad, Minnesota, a former resident of Minneapolis, employed the fifth and other amendments in his refusal to answer when asked if he was a member of the North Side Club of the party, as Boehnke had testified. The witness also refused for the above reasons to say whether he was a member of Local 7, Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, engaging in union activities to further the party's program.

Hemmingson was queried by counsel concerning a letter to the editor of a Minneapolis newspaper of April 5, 1964, which demanded the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Vietnam and which was signed by a Hanley Hemmingson. He refused to discuss the authorship of the letter or whether, if he was in fact the author, the contents of the letter were Communist motivated. Hemmingson also invoked the fifth and other amendments in refusing to answer counsel's question about his current party membership.

HILDA TANIA HEMMINGSON

The last witness, Hilda Tania Hemmingson, gave name and birth date, but refused to answer as to her place of birth on the basis of the fifth and other amendments. When asked if her place of birth was Kishinev, Rumania, as committee information indicated, she again invoked constitutional amendments in her refusal to answer.

She refused for the same reasons to confirm or deny Boehnke's testimony that she was an active member of the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, or to state whether she was aware that its purpose was to propagandize for the repeal of the immigration and Nationality Act, especially those provisions which prevented Communists entry into, or facilitated their deportation from, the United States.

Mrs. Hemmingson declined to confirm or deny Mr. Boehnke's testimony that she had regularly attended closed meetings of the Communist Party, many of which were held in her Minneapolis residence; was a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee; and was active in the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, a group working for the repeal of security legislation.

Mr. Ichord, acting subcommittee chairman, concluded the hearings by stating that they had been fruitful and productive of information desired and needed by the committee to assist in its legislative duties on behalf of Congress.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24, 1964

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Minneapolis, Minn.
PUBLIC HEARINGS

A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to call, at 10 a.m. in Courtroom No. 2 of the U.S. Court-house Building, Minneapolis, Minn., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; George F. Senner, Jr., of Arizona; Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana; and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Ichord, Senner, Bruce, and Schadeberg.

Committee member also present: Representative John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Alfred M. Nittle and William Hitz, counsel; and Neil E. Wetterman and Philip R. Manuel, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

This subcommittee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities is convened today in Minneapolis, Minnesota, to conduct hearings upon the subjects of inquiry and for the legislative purposes set forth in a resolution of the full committee adopted May 27, 1964. This hearing is being held on the authority of that resolution which reads as follows:

BE IT RESOLVED, That hearings be held by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, at such times and places as the chairman may determine, and that the staff be authorized to conduct investigations deemed reasonably necessary in preparation therefor, relating to:

1. As concerns the Minneapolis, Minn., area and Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party of the United States: the structure and organization of the Communist Party of the United States; its major objectives, and the strategic and tactical methods designed to aid in accomplishing such objectives; the major areas of Communist Party concentration; organizations created and controlled by the Communist Party to advance the policies and objectives of the Communist movement; Communist propaganda activities conducted in support of such objectives; and conspiratorial activities in aid of, and in association with, foreign Communist governments, for the following legislative purposes:

(a) to provide factual information to aid the Congress in the proposal of any necessary remedial legislation in fulfillment of the directions contained in the

mandate to the committee by House Resolution 5, of January 9, 1963, and Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress;

(b) to assist the Congress in appraising the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of title I of the Internal Security Act of 1950;

(c) to provide factual information to aid the House in the disposition of presently pending and proposed legislation, including, but not limited to, H.R. 953, a bill to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 so as to authorize the Federal Government to bar from access to defense facilities individuals who may engage in sabotage, espionage, or other subversive acts;

(d) consideration of the advisability of amending the Internal Security Act so as to impose certain disabilities, in the manner and form therein provided, upon those persons "affiliated with" Communist organizations as well as upon persons who are members thereof.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it, or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

The Congress of the United States is continually proposing, debating, weighing, and voting for or against proposed legislation. The Congress—and particularly the House—is the representative of the people. The legislation with which it deals is the business of the people because it concerns the people's welfare—whether it be in the field of defense, agriculture, labor, banking, or security, which, of course, includes the problem of communism.

The Congress cannot and does not legislate in a vacuum. Its actions, of course, must be based on consideration of constitutional issues. But they must also be based on facts, nationally and locally, pertinent to the legislation it is considering. If it is to enact good laws and reject bad bills—and only by doing so can it serve the people's interests—then it must have sound and thorough knowledge of those practical conditions which determine whether particular legislation is desirable. The facts, the truth, are essential.

These needed facts are developed in a variety of ways: by staff studies, by investigation, by hearings, and by floor debate.

This, basically, is why the committee is conducting hearings in Minneapolis today—just as it has in numerous other cities over the years.

Intermittently over the past 35 years, and consistently for the past 26, the House of Representatives, determining that the Communist movement poses a threat to the security of our Nation, has appointed committees to investigate Communist activities and to report their findings to the House. It has done this so that, insofar as the legislative process permits, the House may take appropriate and effective action to protect our country from those who would undermine and subvert it in the interest of a foreign power.

This is presently the mandate of this subcommittee. We are here to carry out duties imposed on us by the House of Representatives. Research has been conducted, investigation has been made—and now we have reached the hearing stage of the legislative process.

A variety of bills dealing with communism and security have been referred to the committee. In order to determine intelligently whether we should report them favorably to the House, we must develop facts—keep up to date—on changing Communist activity, strategy, and tactics.

Further, should we decide to report any of these bills, then the other Members of Congress will want to pass intelligent judgment on our judgment and decide whether they should vote for or against those

bill. And they, too, want the facts—a public record of the information on which we base our recommendations—to see if they concur or disagree with our interpretation and analysis of the information we have developed.

The Congress of the United States has found, formally and officially, that there is a worldwide, revolutionary Communist movement which has the aim of establishing a global totalitarian dictatorship by means of, to quote the Internal Security Act, “treachery, deceit, infiltration into other groups(governmental and otherwise), espionage, sabotage, terrorism, and any other means deemed necessary * * *.”

The Subversive Activities Control Board has found that the U.S. Communist Party is a disciplined unit of the world Communist movement, operating under the control of the Soviet Union and having as its aim the imposition of a Soviet-style dictatorship on the United States. The Supreme Court of the United States in a June 5, 1961, decision upheld this finding.

The Communist Party, U.S.A., is a monolithic, conspiratorial, highly organized and disciplined paramilitary organization with its national headquarters in New York City. Geographically, it has divided this country into second-echelon units called districts. The area in which this city is located is classified by the national committee of the party, which makes such determinations, as the Minnesota-Dakotas District.

Many in this room will recall that just about 4 months ago Gus Hall, the general secretary and top boss of the U.S. Communist Party, paid what was, I am sure, an unwelcome visit to Minneapolis. In the course of a press conference held in this city on February 18, he made the following statement:

One of the definite conclusions I have already come to is that the State of Minnesota needs a bigger Communist movement and a Communist Party, and we are going to do everything we can to give the Communists of Minnesota assistance both in the sense of speakers and literature and finance in order to raise the work of the Communist movement to a higher level. By this the Communist movement of Minnesota is stronger—the labor movement will be stronger—the civil rights movement will be stronger—and the democratic movement will be stronger.

For the good of Minnesota, I would pledge that we do everything we can to build the Communist movement within the State.

Has the Communist Party lived up to the pledge made to the Communists of this district by Gus Hall? Is it pouring more money into this area—more literature—more speakers?

Just what are the commissars of the Communist Party doing to build the Communist movement in this State? What have they done in the past? How have they done it or tried to do it? Who are their agents? What are they now doing to subvert the democratic process in this district?

These are some, though by no means all, of the questions to which the committee hopes to obtain answers. But all the answers the committee needs to carry out its functions cannot be obtained in one place or one hearing. Not long ago, on April 29 and 30, it went to Buffalo, in the New York District of the Communist Party, to obtain answers to these and similar questions. In the near future, it will go to other cities and areas for the same purpose.

Obtaining answers to such questions is a vital part of this committee's function. It needs information of this type to carry out not only the legislative duties I have described, but also its watchdog or oversight function—its analysis of how well the executive branch is administering the various laws concerning subversion and security which are recognized as being within the jurisdiction of the committee.

What kind of legislative results flow from committee hearings such as these?

On March 26 of this year, President Johnson signed into law H.R. 950, the National Security Agency security bill. The bill had been approved in the House by a vote of 240 to 40, and Senate support of it was so overwhelming that the vote was not tallied. This bill, introduced by the late chairman of this committee, was the direct result of the extensive investigation the committee made of the 1960 defection to the Soviet Union of two NSA mathematicians, Bernon F. Mitchell and William H. Martin.

Committee investigators spent 2,000 man-hours on that investigation. Running down leads and developing facts led them to 15 different States—and resulted in 16 hearing sessions, all of which were executive in order to protect the operations and procedures of the NSA, which is probably the most sensitive of all U.S. security agencies. The committee's hearings led to 22 specific reforms in NSA security procedures, and finally—as I have indicated—to the enactment of a law earlier this year which, so far as is humanly possible, guarantees that there will always be sound and effective security procedures in effect at the NSA.

And so the hearings of this committee have a direct bearing on the day-to-day deliberations of the Congress and on the national security—which is your security.

I will now read for the record the order of appointment of the subcommittee conducting these hearings.

JUNE 23, 1964.

To: Mr. FRANCIS J. McNAMARA,
Director, Committee on Un-American Activities

Pursuant to the provisions of the law and the Rules of this Committee, I hereby appoint a subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities, consisting of Honorable Richard Ichord, Honorable George F. Senner, Jr., Honorable Donald C. Bruce, and Honorable Henry C. Schadeberg, as associate members, and myself, as Chairman, to conduct hearings in Minneapolis, Minn., commencing on or about Wednesday, June 24, 1964, and/or at such other times thereafter and places as said subcommittee shall determine, as contemplated by the resolution adopted by the committee on the 27th day of May 1964, authorizing hearings concerning certain Communist activities in the Minneapolis, Minn., area, and other matters under investigation by the committee.

Please make this action a matter of committee record.

If any member indicates his inability to serve, please notify me.

Given under my hand this 23d day of June 1964.

/s/ Edwin E. Willis,
EDWIN E. WILLIS.

Chairman, Committee on Un-American Activities.

Now, we are pleased to have also with us not only the subcommittee members I have named, but a member of the full committee who happens to be present; we are delighted to have him with us, Mr. Ashbrook of Ohio.

Now, I have two or three comments to make other than this opening statement before we hear our first witness.

We almost invariably, and on all occasions, except one that I can remember, conduct our hearings, open hearings, in a Federal courtroom, and we are delighted and pleased to have been extended the courtesy of the judge for the use of this chamber for these hearings. As I say, we are the guests of the presiding judge and we must always abide by the rules of the judge of the particular court facility we occupy.

I have here a letter which I will simply paraphrase, and which is signed by the chief judge here, reminding us that he has instructed the United States marshal to adhere strictly to the rules that no photographic equipment or voice recording machinery will be permitted in the U.S. Courthouse Building, in connection with the hearings of this committee June 24, 25, and 26. He reemphasizes that this court is quite religious in enforcement of its rules of conduct and decorum of those to whom it may permit the use of court facilities. The ban on smoking during proceedings and recesses must be strictly adhered to. Those are the rules, and we will abide by them. The marshal of this court is an executive officer; he will be in attendance with deputies, and they will maintain, I hope, the same decorum that is respected in this courtroom.

I do hope there will be decorum. It is not a particularly attractive job to be chairman or member of this committee. This committee was created by Congress, by the House. There are 20 committees of the House—standing committees. This committee is just one of them. The jurisdiction of each of these 20 committees is spelled out in words that anyone can understand in the rules of the House in accordance with the resolution creating the particular committee. This committee was created 26 years ago, and so we are just a committee of the House. We operate by direction of the House. It is part of the legislative process. So, though not a pleasant job, it is one of those things that has to be done. As I say, I do sincerely hope that all the people here, who—as we are guests of the judge of this court—are in turn the guests of this committee, will make every effort to maintain decorum, because decorum will and must be maintained.

I understand that attorneys for some of the witnesses summoned to appear during these hearings have contacted members of our staff to inquire when their respective clients may be expected to appear. That's understandable; I am a lawyer and have been a lawyer for 38 years. I like to accommodate and convenience lawyers as much as I can, as would a judge.

It is not likely that I can pinpoint who will be called at exactly what hour—things won't work out that way—but we do want to be as accommodating as possible and so I say that none of the witnesses who have been formally summoned or subpoenaed to appear today will be heard today. That is as far as I can go. So, the attorneys can guide themselves accordingly. They, and they alone, can make up their minds as to whether they prefer, nevertheless, to remain and hear whatever evidence might be adduced which might involve their clients. It is their choice, and to that extent I can and do accommodate them. The summoned or subpoenaed witnesses will not be heard today, but beyond that I cannot tell, so everyone should be in attendance tomorrow and day after tomorrow.

Counsel, please call your first witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Miss Ruthann Withrow please come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Please stand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Miss WITHROW. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RUTHANN WITHROW

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Withrow, would you kindly state your name and residence for the record?

Miss WITHROW. Ruthann Withrow, 1719 Glenwood Avenue North, in Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the date and place of your birth?

Miss WITHROW. It was on August 9, 1935, and I was born in Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been a lifetime resident of the city of Minneapolis?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education, giving the dates and places of attendance at educational institutions and any degrees that you may have received?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I graduated from high school in Minneapolis in 1953, and from 1953 to 1956 I attended classes at the night school at the University of Minnesota. I did not graduate; however, I did attend courses in psychology, sociology, and a few others.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate your employment since the completion of your educational training?

Miss WITHROW. Well, during the years I attended night school, I was working for the branch of General Motors. I worked there for about 4 years. I worked then at the University of Minnesota approximately a little over 2 years, and I am presently working for the city of Minneapolis, and I have held a few short-term jobs.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I have.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you simply state the period during which you maintained that membership?

Miss WITHROW. I became a member on May 1, 1958, and I remained a member until March of 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. During the period of your association with the Communist Party, were you at all times acting in cooperation with an agency of the United States Government?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. What was that agency?

Miss WITHROW. The Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. NITTLE. Of course, during the period of your association in the party, you were at no time in sympathy with it or its purposes or objectives; is that correct?

Miss WITHROW. Definitely so.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee, please, the circumstances relating to your becoming associated with the Communist Party or the Communist movement?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I was first contacted by a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee attempting to sell me *The Worker*. At that time he tried to either sell me *The Worker* or the subscription, and he explained the role of the paper to me and got into the role of the Communist Party in the struggle of the working class.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us approximately when this contact was made with you by a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Approximately in February of 1956.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the House committee in more detail what method of approach was employed in attempting to interest you in *The Worker* and in the work of the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it was explained that, first of all, *The Worker* was the only paper in which the people could get the truth about some of the major issues around the country; that these things were never printed in the daily papers; that *The Worker* supported many of the crucial issues; and that the Freedom of the Press Committee and the people on it and in sympathy with it were the only ones who could help keep *The Worker* going, who could help keep bringing the truth before the people.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you invited to become a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Not immediately. I was invited to social affairs given by the committee, to picnics, and after a little while I eventually was invited to join.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you finally join the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Miss WITHROW. It was in 1957.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you were invited to join the Freedom of the Press Committee, were you advised as to whether or not there was any relation between that committee and the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. No; there was no knowledge on my part that some of the people were connected with the Communist Party, but there was no statement made at that time. I later knew that there were both party members and nonparty members on the committee.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Well, the main function was to give social affairs. They sponsored an annual picnic, used any means, mainly to raise funds for *The Worker*, to sell *The Worker*, and to gather—as much as they could—public opinion to support the issues printed in *The Worker*.

Mr. NITTLE. You have stated that there were included as members of this committee, Communists and non-Communists. How would you describe the type of organization which the Freedom of the Press Committee represented in party language?

Miss WITHROW. Pardon?

Mr. NITTLE. How would you describe the Freedom of the Press Committee which included, as you have said, Communists and non-Communists?

Miss WITHROW. Well, at the time I joined it, it was definitely a front group.

Mr. NITTLE. Front group?

Miss WITHROW. For the party.

Mr. NITTLE. For the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us what relation the rather high-sounding title "Freedom of the Press Committee" bore to the activities of this group?

Miss WITHROW. Well, they constantly used the phrase "freedom of the press." However by this they meant, as I saw it, even toward the beginning of my membership—by this they generally meant freedom to state their opinions in *The Worker*, mainly freedom to support their paper and to push their paper.

Mr. NITTLE. That is, freedom to support *The Worker*?

Miss WITHROW. *The Worker*.

Mr. NITTLE. The official Communist Party publication?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did the character of the Freedom of the Press Committee change with time during the period of your membership in the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Did it confine itself to membership of Communists and non-Communists?

Miss WITHROW. Well, as I stated, when I first joined, there were both Communists and non-Communists on the committee. Over a short period of time, though, all of the non-Communists eventually dropped away from the work of the committee, and toward the end of my service on the committee, as it stood then, it was strictly party members.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us briefly whether you have knowledge why the non-Communists dropped out of the work of the committee?

Miss WITHROW. You mean to explain their actions?

Mr. NITTLE. Well, I mean to ask, Did they withdraw from it upon ascertaining its true nature or was it for other reasons?

Miss WITHROW. I would say in some cases this was true. Others, they just slowly dropped away and new ones were not encouraged to take their place.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you later asked to join the Communist Party following your activity, your initial activity in the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. This leads me to ask whether, in addition to serving as a propaganda organization, Communist fronts such as the Freedom of the Press Committee play any role in the recruitment technique of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Definitely so. I know that immediately prior to my being told or suggested that I join, my activity was watched quite closely. I was asked many questions at that time, and I am sure that my work on the committee was a major factor in my acceptance into the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to admission to formal membership in the Communist Party, does the Communist Party engage the prospective recruit in any systematic preparation or indoctrination for such membership?

Miss WITHROW. Very definitely so. There are many personal contacts between the prospective member and Communist Party mem-

bers and, also, there is usually a Marxist or a "progressive" study group.

Mr. NITTLE. You say one of the preliminary steps is to invite the prospective recruit to join what is called a Marxist study group?

Miss WITHROW. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you explain how the Marxist study group functions, and explain more fully its purpose?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it is usually a discussion group. It is quite often a large number of people; a lot of party members attend. It is led, usually, by either a State Communist leader or somebody that they pick to lead the discussion. They use as the basis for discussion either one of the Marxist classics, an article in *The Worker*, or an article in one of the other publications like *Political Affairs*. This was very popular, and they'd use this for discussion and they'd attempt to draw out, particularly, those people that they were thinking about recruiting, to get their ideas, to change their ideas on the particular subject being discussed.

Mr. NITTLE. Are Marxist study groups set up in schools and institutions and other places?

Miss WITHROW. No, not here. They were held in private homes. On a couple of occasions they were held in the location that the party used for a bookshop.

Mr. NITTLE. Was attendance at Marxist study groups likewise compulsory for members of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Well, they expected members of the Communist Party to attend frequently, but the actual constant attendance was not compulsory, that was more or less replaced by the educational period in each club meeting.

Mr. NITTLE. So that, following that, the preparation for membership in the Communist Party is conducted in Marxist study groups, but after you become a member then your Marxist indoctrination is continued in the party club, or in the cell as it is sometimes called?

Miss WITHROW. That's right.

Mr. NITTLE. Does the Communist Party, in recruiting members, do so with great caution?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I remember they did when I was recruited, and I could see it shortly thereafter. I imagine they are still continuing this policy and perhaps to a further extent than they did then.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee in more detail the manner in which your membership was effected in 1958?

Miss WITHROW. I knew I was being considered for quite some time. I more or less just suspected this, because every once in a while I would be asked what otherwise would be considered odd questions about my background or my education or, in particular, my thoughts on certain issues that were in the newspaper, and then about, oh, 6 weeks before I was actually accepted, the State secretary¹ at the time really quizzed me on my ideas, on my background, in very much detail, and then at the same time he told me that he had put in my application for membership, that he was going to sponsor me, and that he would let me know when and if I was accepted. Then about 6 weeks later, on May Day of 1958, I was accepted into membership and I attended my first meeting.

¹ Samuel K. Davis.

Mr. NITTLE. To what sources does the Communist Party look for prospective members?

Miss WITHROW. Well, as I remember it, they looked just about everywhere. They would prefer to look among their relatives and the people they have close contacts with. They also, I know, look at their jobs and in other organizations that they are able to get into, for possibilities of people to recruit.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state briefly what official positions you have held in the Communist Party?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, Counsel, may I ask a question at this point? I am not clear on something.

The joining came about when, in 1958?

Miss WITHROW. I actually joined, I remember it well, because it was May Day of 1958; May 1.

The CHAIRMAN. And then you related your membership in this press club,¹ and that began in 1956?

Miss WITHROW. 1957.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, in 1957 to the date of your joining, I don't know that the record is clear whether from the very beginning or only from the date of your becoming a member you were connected with or reporting to the FBI.

Miss WITHROW. Well, I talked to the FBI when I was first contacted by a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I see.

Mr. NITTLE. Briefly, what official positions have you held in the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. I was chairman of the North Side Club in Minneapolis for 2 years.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hold any other offices?

Miss WITHROW. Pardon?

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hold any other offices?

Miss WITHROW. No elected office, no. I was appointed to more or less take charge of the hoped-for youth organization in 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. In the course of your activities as chairman of the North Side Club, did you acquire knowledge of the Communist Party structure in the Minnesota-Dakotas District?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; this was more or less headed by the State board and—

Mr. NITTLE. When you talk about the State board, for a moment I would like to interrupt you if I may. Are you referring to the State board for the State of Minnesota, or are you referring to the board controlling the States of Minnesota and North and South Dakota?

Miss WITHROW. Well, this, at the time at least I was in this, was used interchangeably. It was referred to as the State board but, what was meant by that, it was the board of the Minnesota-Dakotas District.

Mr. NITTLE. All right. Will you proceed to describe the organizational structure of the Communist Party during the period of your membership?

Miss WITHROW. Well, as I said, this was headed by the State board, which was the elected officers of the State and selected members of the State committee, the next body, and then under that was the local leadership, the clubs.

¹ Freedom of the Press Committee.

Mr. NITTLE. So that the top echelon was the State board?

Miss WITHROW. That's right.

Mr. NITTLE. And how was that appointed or selected?

Miss WITHROW. Well, this was done at the State conventions.

Mr. NITTLE. At the State conventions of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Under the State board was the State committee, as the next echelon in the chain of command flowing down toward the rank-and-file members; is that right?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. How was the State committee selected?

Miss WITHROW. This also at the State convention.

Mr. NITTLE. And then you had the local club organizations, is that right?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Who constituted membership in the clubs? Are they the rank-and-file members?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; they are the rank-and-file members; yes.

Mr. NITTLE. And they are persons such as yourself, who are initially recruited into the party as Communist Party members; is that right?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, that's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us what were the primary functions of these groups in the organizational chain of command, starting with the State board? What was the function of the State board?

Miss WITHROW. Well, the State board, in essence, would make the local policy or, if there was anything that had been transmitted from New York, they would pass this and their local policies down to the State committee, who would issue instructions to the club.

Mr. NITTLE. I gather that the instructions issued out of New York. Is that the national headquarters you are referring to?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. They are issued out of New York, came to the State board in the top echelon of this district leadership, then the State board passed the orders down to the State committee, and then the State committee would pass the orders down to the local clubs, which constituted the rank and file?

Miss WITHROW. That is correct.¹

Mr. NITTLE. What is the function of the State convention?

Miss WITHROW. Well, this would meet—I was not a member long enough to know how they really met—but this would meet, on occasion, mainly to discuss the current issues that were before the party, proposed work before the party, and then the main function, of course, was to elect a new State committee and a new State board to take over for the following period of time.

¹ Subsequent to the public hearings in Minneapolis, Ruthann Withrow made available to the committee staff certain material designated "Withrow Exhibits Nos. 5 and 5A." (See pp. 1749, 1750.)

This communication was given to Miss Withrow by Sam K. Davis, Minnesota State secretary of the Communist Party, who had received the letter and questionnaire from Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist Party, U.S.A. Miss Withrow, then chairman of the North Side Club in Minneapolis, was directed by Sam K. Davis to complete the questionnaire and return it to him for forwarding to Communist Party headquarters in New York City. Davis advised Miss Withrow that he would be very interested in many of her answers to the questionnaire.

Mr. NITTLE. The convention was utilized, if I understand you correctly, as a means of explaining policy to the leadership so that it might be executed by them?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I wouldn't exactly say that the committee explained policy to the leadership, I think it was just about the other way around, the leadership explained the policy to the committee and to the convention.

Mr. NITTLE. So that the convention was not a democratic instrumentality for devising policy and debating it, but was rather a means of disseminating orders which the leaders of that convention received elsewhere?

Miss WITHROW. This is certainly the way I saw it the time I attended.

Mr. NITTLE. And these orders came from where?

Miss WITHROW. Well, in some cases it was definitely stated that they came from New York. In other cases it was more or less assumed this.

Mr. NITTLE. After you were recruited into the Communist Party in May 1958, you told us you were assigned to a club or cell of the Communist Party.

Miss WITHROW. That's right.

Mr. NITTLE. That's the lowest unit in the hierarchy of the party; is that right?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. And you were subsequently appointed to the position of club chairman?

Miss WITHROW. That's right.

Mr. NITTLE. What other offices were established for the management of the club in addition to the office of club chairman?

Miss WITHROW. Well, at least in the club that I belonged to there were just the club chairman, the educational director, and the treasurer.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you first explain your duties as a club chairman?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I was to meet regularly with State leaders, particularly, it seemed in my case, the State secretary of the party. He would, in essence, tell me what was going on, what was to be promoted before the club; he would leave any instructions with me as to—even in some cases as to what the issues were to be brought up before the club, and I was to pass this information on to club members, initiate discussions, and just, in general, be responsible for the work of the club in the North Side area.

Mr. NITTLE. During the period of your membership in the party, would you be able to tell the committee who was the State secretary of the Communist Party at that time?

Miss WITHROW. While I was a member Samuel K. Davis was the State secretary.

The CHAIRMAN. I didn't understand that last.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you repeat your answer as to who was State secretary of the Communist Party during your membership in the party?

Miss WITHROW. That was Mr. Sam K. Davis.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us, please, what were the duties and functions of the educational director of the club or cell?

Miss WITHROW. Well, the major assignment of the educational director was to record each meeting, prepare a sort of a lecture on

usually an article that appeared in *The Worker* or in *Political Affairs*. This would be on some party policy that was currently being promoted or some issue that was currently before the country to get the view and the support of the party members there. It was, in general, to lead any discussion, to answer any questions if there were any.

Mr. NITTLE. So that we understand, then it was the function of the educational director to bring the party line to the club through an explanation of messages contained in *The Worker* and *Political Affairs*?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. *The Worker* is a weekly publication of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Where is it published?

Miss WITHROW. It is published in New York. While I was a member they had a Midwest edition, I think, that contained excerpts published in Chicago.

Mr. NITTLE. You also mentioned a publication called *Political Affairs*?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Is that the monthly theoretical publication of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Where was that published?

Miss WITHROW. As far as I know, that also was published in New York.

Mr. NITTLE. How often were meetings held by the North Side Club?

Miss WITHROW. Usually it was every 2 weeks.

Mr. NITTLE. And where were these meetings held?

Miss WITHROW. In the homes of the club members.

Mr. NITTLE. In what way is notice given to club members as to particular meetings or changes in meetings?

Miss WITHROW. Well, generally it was decided at the meeting where the next one would be and exactly when, but if some change had to be made it was usually done by personal contact. Sometimes the chairman or the person responsible for the change would go around and see everybody and tell them that such and such meeting was changed to some place else or some other time.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of doing this by personal contact? Could not the telephone as well have been used?

Miss WITHROW. Well, only on very few occasions was the telephone used, especially to change meeting dates, and then it was made in very general terms, saying something like, "Instead of coming over to my house tomorrow, come over to somebody else's house for coffee." That I can remember; they never said the party meeting had been changed; they just would not use the phone for this purpose.

Mr. NITTLE. Was that an attempt to maintain the secrecy of the meeting?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. In your capacity as chairman of the North Side Club, did you attend any conventions of the Communist Party as a delegate representing your group?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I did; in November of 1959 and then the same convention when it reconvened in February of 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you give us in a little more detail, some of the major issues acted upon at the conventions?

Miss WITHROW. Well, usually there was discussion of any current party policy or on civil rights or the peace movement; sometimes, if there was any major strikes going on, how the party wanted their members to support this.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have knowledge of the existence of clubs other than the North Side Club within the Minneapolis or St. Paul area?

Miss WITHROW. Usually this wasn't discussed too much, but at one club meeting there was a report given from a State committee meeting in which the person giving the report listed the clubs, and at that time he listed six. Did you want me to name them?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, if you will.

Miss WITHROW. Well, if I remember it was the Industrial 1 and 2; it was the club I belonged to, the North Side Club; there was the Women's Branch; the South Side; and there was one called the Lenin Branch.

Mr. NITTLE. I note you described one of the clubs as the Women's Branch. Is there any significance in that?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it wasn't explained. I would just assume it was made up entirely of women.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us why the one club was described as the Industrial branch 1 and 2? Did that have any significance?

Miss WITHROW. Well, again—

Mr. NITTLE. To your knowledge.

Miss WITHROW—this wasn't thoroughly explained. I imagine it meant that those people in that club were members of some—were workers at some industrial plants. This was the only occasion on which the clubs were named, and there was no explanation given as to who made up these clubs.

Mr. NITTLE. In the conduct of these apparently conspiratorial activities, was the Communist Party membership alerted to, or advised of, the possibility of being prosecuted under the law by reason of their Communist activities?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; this was discussed quite often, especially as it got toward the late 1959 and early part of 1960. And then all through the year 1960 this was discussed very often.

Mr. NITTLE. Were there any discussions at party meetings by Communist Party officials with respect to the requirements for registration under the Internal Security Act and whether that law would be complied with?

Miss WITHROW. Well, again this was discussed. There was one time I remember here in Minneapolis where the State secretary, Mr. Davis, at that time said that the party will never register under the McCarran Act, will never comply with it, no matter what laws they passed, and I was at a 40th anniversary meeting in Chicago in which Mr. Hall made, in essence, the same statement.

Mr. NITTLE. In connection with the adoption of security measures, were any measures ever adopted within the party based upon the idea that there may be possible defections within the membership itself?

Miss WITHROW. Well, there were certain security measures that were taken. For example—this is just sort of a broad example—I remember it was strongly suggested at several club meetings that the members at the end of the meeting leave only one, two, or at the most, three at a time, to not to call attention to the fact that there had been a meeting there. And then I think I said that the phone was seldom if ever used for party business. And the time when the Communist Party and *The Worker* were sharing an office on Hennepin Avenue, they—at least the times when I went up there, the State secretary made a point never to either mention names in that office or to discuss important party business in the office for fear somebody would overhear it.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, we'd like to pass to another subject for the moment. To your knowledge was any effort made by the Communist Party to infiltrate political organizations?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, there was. I was very much involved in one attempt that was made. It occurred mainly in the late spring of 1960. The party, after the State convention—this had been discussed and decided at the State convention that the party was going to attempt to get into any and all Democratic-Farmer-Labor clubs that it could. Well, on the North Side, I was involved to the extent that I already was, prior to my membership in the Communist Party, a member of the DFL Fifth Ward Club, so I was able to see within the Communist Party club certain members were ordered to attempt to gain membership in the Fifth Ward DFL Club. They were also ordered not to answer the question in the DFL application about past or present Communist Party membership. They attempted—there were a couple that carried forth their attempt to gain membership in this club. They attended meetings, put in their applications. I think it took about 2 or 3 months for this to be settled. There was one other party member besides myself in that club, but the people applying at that time, I am happy to say, were not accepted by the DFL.

Mr. NITTLE. So that the DFL club was alert to the problem, and placed a question in the application as to whether the applicant was a member of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct. At that time I was not known by the DFL as a Communist Party member, nor was the other person who was a member of the DFL club.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Withrow, I will hand you a copy of a document marked for identification as "Withrow Exhibit No. 1," bearing the caption "An opening discussion . . . on . . . THE 1960 ELECTIONS by a trade unionist," dated June 15, 1960. The author is not identified on the document or pamphlet, but is simply described as a "trade unionist." Did that document come into your possession?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I received this at a meeting of the North Side Club of the party.

Mr. NITTLE. I beg your pardon?

Miss WITHROW. I received this document at a meeting of the North Side Club, North Side Communist Party Club.

(Document marked "Withrow Exhibit No. 1." See pp. 1726-1729.)

Mr. NITTLE. Under what circumstances did you acquire it?

Miss WITHROW. It was given to me mainly as chairman. There were a couple other copies passed out to be used as discussion at this

club meeting, one of the first discussions on how the Communist Party was going to take part in the campaigns for the 1960 election.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you remember the approximate time when that was disseminated at the club?

Miss WITHROW. I don't remember the exact date, but I think it was shortly after the date of June 15, 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you happen to know who the author of that document was?

Miss WITHROW. I don't know of my own personal knowledge, but I was told by Mr. Davis, who gave this to me, that it was Leo Giovannini.

Mr. NITTLE. And by "Mr. Davis" you are referring to Sam Davis who was the State secretary of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. That's right.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Leo Giovannini as a member of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he hold any official office in the party?

Miss WITHROW. Not that I know of, at the time.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you examine that document again, Miss Withrow, and tell the committee whether that document is an official statement of Communist Party policy directed to the club membership as a mandate to party members in the State of Minnesota?

Miss WITHROW. I can't really say how official it was, except that it was distributed by the leadership and it was used as a basis for action by the party during the coming months.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us whether that, in effect, constituted a direction or mandate to members of your party cell as to the course that should be pursued in the 1960 elections?

Miss WITHROW. I would say that yes, this is generally what was expected of party members, what they were supposed to do in the 1960 campaign.

Mr. NITTLE. I want to direct your attention to the last paragraph on page 2 of the document. You will note that the following language is included, and I am quoting from the document:

Certainly the situation is ripe for work in the DFL clubs, and we should discuss with specific comrades to find their way into DFL clubs, actively participating, but having certain specific issues for concentrated effort * * *.

Would it be correct to interpret that as a direction to Communist Party members to infiltrate and literally to ride upon the back of a reputable political organization in an effort to inject the Communist Party line within its deliberations?

Miss WITHROW. Well, this is definitely true, and I think it was—one thing I would like to say is I think this was summed up prior to this statement at the State convention when this policy of infiltration of the DFL was discussed. The reason given at the time was that the party should realize that the DFL was considered the party or, rather, that the working people in Minnesota considered the DFL their party, so that the Communist Party, to remain as they call themselves "the vanguard of the workers," would have to get in on the level of the working people to promote their policies, and since the working people were in the DFL that this was the best place to do it.

Mr. NITTLE. With respect to the general policy of infiltration into any organization or group, what was the objective of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Well, their main objective was to influence enough people within that organization so that, without it being actually known, they could promote the crucial issues, the policies, and the programs that the Communist Party wished promoted, and then they would have the backing of a respectable organization.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge of any Communist Party activity relating to the infiltration of civic organizations?

Miss WITHROW. Well, again, no direct knowledge. There were reports in party club meetings by members of what they had been able to do within organizations like the PTA and certain peace groups.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the method of operation of the Communist Party in its infiltration efforts? By that I mean to say, did it attempt to control or use those who were in established leadership, or did the Communist Party members seek to entrench themselves in leadership?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I think this question could only be answered by an event that happened at a party club meeting. This one woman who—this one party member, a woman, who was a member of a local PTA, reported at this club meeting at which the State secretary was in attendance that she had been asked to run for an office in the PTA by several of her fellow members. She was given definite orders at that time that she was not to run for an office herself. She was in some quarters known as being a member of the Communist Party, and they did not want that much known of the leadership. What she was told to do was to pick out some other woman in the PTA that she felt that she could most easily influence, that she felt that she was closest with, and use what other influence that she had to get this woman elected, and then they felt that then she could convince this woman at times to support certain issues without it ever being known that the Communist Party was behind them.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you be able to tell the committee who was the person in the party who gave the instructions to the party member relating to her conduct in the PTA?

Miss WITHROW. It was the State secretary, Mr. Davis.

Mr. NITTLE. To whom was the order given?

Miss WITHROW. To Mrs. Betty Smith.

Mr. NITTLE. And was Betty Smith a member of the Communist Party, known to you to be such?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What club or cell was she a member of?

Miss WITHROW. She was a member of the same club that I was chairman of.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have occasion to learn of any Communist Party activity in trade unions?

Miss WITHROW. On a couple of occasions, one member would bring up one or another issue in the trade union that he was working in, but in general this was—at least I as chairman knew that discussions of trade union affairs were reserved for discussion between the member of the Communist Party involved and the State secretary or between

members, Communists involved in the issue, in order to protect them; they did not discuss them in front of others.

Mr. NITTLE. So that the trade union activities of the Communist Party were maintained with a degree of secrecy and the instructions with respect to that activity were confined to direct communications between the top party officials and the party members involved; is that right?

Miss WITHROW. As I saw it, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. In any manner brought to your knowledge, did the Communist Party leadership direct its attention to religious organizations?

Miss WITHROW. Well, there was discussion several times that something should be done, but at least while I was a member, I knew of no organized attempt to get into any religious organization.

Mr. NITTLE. Did the Communist Party direct its members to infiltrate so-called pacifist groups or to engage in demonstrations on the subject of peace within the Minneapolis-St. Paul area?

Miss WITHROW. Oh, very definitely. Every party member in the city was ordered, if at all possible, to take part in any peace demonstration that occurred, to join, if possible—unless it seriously interfered with something else—the peace groups, the established peace groups; and, oh, for example, in the peace walks in Minneapolis and St. Paul that have been held here in the past, party members were definitely supposed to take part and, on occasion when they didn't, they had to explain themselves at the club meeting immediately following why they weren't there and give an explanation.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you receive any specific instruction relating to the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom?

Miss WITHROW. I knew very little about this group. I knew a couple of party members that did belong. They wanted me to join, but at the time I did not.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counselor, I think at this point it might be wise to have a 5-minute recess to rest the fingers of our reporter.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Was any significance attached by the Communist Party, or importance given, to undertaking active participation within the peace groups?

Miss WITHROW. I think the main objective was the same as when they tried to get into many other groups—is to widen their area of contacts, to know more people, to gain support within these organizations for the policies that the Communist Party wanted promoted.

Mr. NITTLE. For a moment, returning to the party structure as you have outlined it, did any changes occur in that party structure during your period of membership?

Miss WITHROW. It remained pretty much the same until, I think, it was the early part of 1960, when it was announced that one new body was being reactivated. Apparently, there had been a city committee in the past which more or less ran the city party structure, but it had fallen into disuse; and now, as a result of a State committee meeting, this was being reactivated and that four members of the State committee would act as this committee. I think the reason, if I remember right, was to free the top leaders for rural activity, so

that they could get out of the city more often and still have the party running well.

Mr. NITTLE. Now we would like to turn your attention to certain methods, of which you may have knowledge, by which the Communist Party finances itself. During your membership in the Communist Party, were you required to make regular payment of dues?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; there were monthly dues that had to be paid. Also, there was a sort of semicompulsory contribution of an equal amount to the party sustaining fund.

Mr. NITTLE. How were these dues handled or recorded within the North Side Club during the period of your membership?

Miss WITHROW. Well, in this particular club they were paid to the treasurer, and after recording them and doing all his balancing, he immediately turned the money over to the State secretary,¹ who was also a member of this club.

Mr. NITTLE. Were all funds obtained by the club retained for the use of the club or local party use?

Miss WITHROW. Well, this complete accounting, as I remember it, was never given, but I think it was explained once that a small percentage was retained by the club and another small percentage to the State and the rest was sent to the national office.

Mr. NITTLE. The national office in New York?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge as to any special assessments for funds being made by the party in addition to the payment of dues?

Miss WITHROW. This came up very often. There would be some issue that was being supported that they needed funds for, so the announcement would be made at the club that such-and-such special assessment would be made. Sometimes a certain amount was named, other times it was to equal the amount of the club dues, or very infrequently just the amount that the party member felt he could give.

Mr. NITTLE. What methods would be used in making such special assessments?

Miss WITHROW. Well, in our club usually the State secretary would announce that this fund was being taken up at this time, and the club members would pay this amount within a short period of time to the club treasurer.

Mr. NITTLE. What other methods were employed for the raising of party funds?

Miss WITHROW. Well, one way, especially if a party member financially could not make a large donation himself, he was to approach his contacts, that is, the people he knew outside the party who he could approach either truthfully, telling them that it was for some Communist Party-sponsored thing, or for some progressive issue, give some reason to get money from this nonparty member.

Mr. NITTLE. Did the party engage in the sale of any material?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, they had—not the whole time I was a member, but part of the time I was a member, they had a bookshop at which there was all forms of party literature and they made some money selling that. They always pushed party literature in club meetings and occasionally at *The Worker* picnic.

Mr. NITTLE. Can you explain the procedures employed by the Communist Party for raising funds?

¹ Samuel K. Davis.

Miss WITHROW. Most of the time, well, actually quite often, they sponsored affairs, too. Very seldom—I really at the moment can't think of any occasion—did they openly state that these affairs were sponsored by the Communist Party. Most of the time it was stated that it was sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee, but in party circles it was known it was for the party, these funds would go directly to the party bypassing the Freedom of the Press Committee entirely.

Mr. NITTLE. What type of affairs are you referring to that were held by the Communist-front groups?

Miss WITHROW. Occasionally when there were Communist leaders from out of town they would come and give speeches, and, oh, sometimes, well, there was *The Worker* bazaar. The support went mainly to the Freedom of the Press Committee for *The Worker* and mainly picnics and some social affairs.

Mr. NITTLE. Was financial support of the Communist Party a matter of compulsion for the party membership?

Miss WITHROW. Oh, definitely; yes.

Mr. NITTLE. When party members neglected or refused to fulfill their assignments, whether as to fundraising or otherwise, would they be subjected to disciplinary action by the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. At least at first, at the very minimum, they would have to explain their actions at party club meetings and answer many questions as to why they did this, what their attitude was in doing it this way.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any personal experience in that respect?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I can remember one experience in particular. It refers to about the time when the party was, just after they had attempted to infiltrate the DFL [Fifth] Ward Club. Another woman, Mrs. Gordienko, joined the DFL club, and the party was determined that they were going to get her expelled, embarrass her, embarrass the ward club, and there were many orders that were given to party members as to actions that they were to take, in particular those members of the ward club who were also in the DFL or who could at least merely attend meetings of the DFL, and many of these orders—for example, I was ordered, since I was an officer of the DFL [Fifth] Ward Club, to use my influence with the other officers, to use whatever influence I had among the membership, to hopefully, to get the membership or the other officers to raise the question of expelling Mrs. Gordienko. And this I refused to do and I had to explain myself on a couple of occasions on this. Then later the other member, the other Communist who was a member of the ward club, filed formal charges against Mrs. Gordienko in an attempt to get her out, and I was again ordered to back up these charges, to do everything possible in my power to get the club members in particular—they had given up on the other officers—but to get the DFL club members in particular to back the charges and have Mrs. Gordienko expelled.

I did not back these as well as I should and I refused to go any further and again I was called up before the club to explain my actions. And I was told that when the final hearing came up I was supposed to go completely all out and support this statement of charges, even if it would mean that in some way I would myself be exposed as a Communist Party member and possibly expelled from the DFL myself,

because this was very important to the party and they felt that it was a crucial issue that they were going to win.

Well, again when I still didn't follow the party orders, and this put me somewhat in disgrace with the party leaders, and I think it was—I was told it was one factor in which the State secretary, Mr. Davis told me later, was one factor in his withdrawing support in my reelection for club chairman in 1961, the fact that I did not follow orders on this issue.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Withrow, you mentioned Miss or Mrs. Gordienko. Could you tell us who she was?

Miss WITHROW. Well, the party was very much against her, and when they first heard her name it was explained to me why they were against her. Apparently some years before she had been a member of the Communist Party and had also worked for the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Miss Withrow, I hand you a copy of a letter marked for identification as "Withrow Exhibit No. 1-A," entitled "North Minneapolis Is a Progressive Community Let's Keep It That Way." It appears upon the face of the exhibit that it was issued by the Fifth Ward Club of the Communist Party of Minnesota. This document refers to an incident at the Fifth Ward Club, and without naming the person involved, it appears to refer to Mrs. Gordienko, about whom you just told us. I hand you a copy of that document and ask you whether that document was distributed by persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, this was distributed on the north side on a house-to-house basis by members of the North Side Communist Party Club. I know it was also mailed out to other people, DFL leaders, some city and State DFL officials.

(Document marked "Withrow Exhibit No. 1-A" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. That leaflet particularly attacks anticommunism as "reactionary," and anti-Communists as "hate mongers." May I read to you paragraph 4 of Exhibit 1-A:

Therefore, it was shocking when these hate mongers were given comfort by the chairman of the Fifth Ward DFL Club, who recently sponsored for membership in the DFL an admitted informer for the FBI, who publically fingered militant unionists, progressives, and alleged Communists, whenever reaction needed her "services." It was even more shocking when the president of the Minneapolis Painter's Union seconded the chairman's motion to accept her membership. This union official praised this informer, stating that she had pointed out members of his union as "Communists."

Was reference there made to Mrs. Gordienko, attempting to defame her as an informer?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit 1-A in evidence. I also offer Exhibit 1 in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Documents 1 and 1-A will be received in evidence at this point.

May I ask you a question at this point? Maybe counsel will develop it, but it occurs to me—during the years we have been talking about, from 1956 until your last service to the FBI, did you ever become suspect by party members, did you get by with it, did you have any experience in that connection?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I think I could say that up until the very early part of 1961 I am positive there was no suspicion of any sort. I think possibly just prior to my resignation from the party there was suspicion, of one sort or another, but I think it was more that I was a Trotskyite more than anything else.

The CHAIRMAN. Perhaps counsel will develop that, that you were a Trotskyite?

Miss WITHROW. Well, this term——

The CHAIRMAN. I understand the term.

Miss WITHROW. Well, they meant that I was developing ideas that were revisionistic or against the good of the party or against the policies of the party.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, go ahead, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Miss Withrow, did the party consider the project, their unsuccessful attempt to have Mrs. Gordienko discredited and expelled from the DFL, a complete failure?

Miss WITHROW. Not completely.

Mr. NITTLE. Why do you say that?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I think from the very beginning they were quite sure that they couldn't get Mrs. Gordienko expelled, but one of their purposes was to embarrass the DFL, to embarrass Mrs. Gordienko, and, I think, cause as much hard feelings and controversy as possible within the ward club, and to a very small extent I think they did this. So they didn't feel that it was completely a failure.

Mr. NITTLE. They were satisfied to create an issue and a disturbance, is that right?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What other tactics or methods of harassment can you tell us about that were used by the Communist Party for the purpose of discrediting, or seeking revenge upon, former members?

Miss WITHROW. Well, there was one thing in my own case where I know they made up and distributed a leaflet similar to this one. I found out from friends that they distributed in my home neighborhood and they did also send it to some DFL members in an attempt to discredit me within the DFL.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of a leaflet, which I believe is the leaflet you are referring to, marked for identification as "Withrow Exhibit No. 2." On its face issued by "Freedom of the Press Committee—Ralph Taylor, Chairman," this leaflet is entitled "Sh! Sh! The Secret Word Is Money" and attacks you for your appearance as a Government witness during 1963. Is that leaflet the one to which you just referred?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

(Document marked "Withrow Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 2

SH! SH! THE SECRET WORD IS MONEY

Ruthann Withrow of 700 Emerson Ave. No. testified recently in Wash. D.C. against Sam K. Davis, former Minnesota manager of *THE WORKER*, who the Justice Dept. is trying to force to register under the Nazi-like McCarran Act. She admitted being paid \$100 a month by the FBI (Mpls. Tribune 1/30/63) for her "cooperation" as an informer against her neighbors who work for peace, fair housing, labor's rights, and freedom of the press.

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE FBI IN CIVIL RIGHTS?

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., recently repeated charges by Negroes that FBI agents in the South are sympathetic with white racists, and that the FBI had not made a single arrest on behalf of Negro citizens.

In a notable radio broadcast (station WBAL, New York City, 10/18/62), former FBI agent Jack Levine stated that from his experiences the FBI is rampant with racism and anti-Semitism. (See "The Nation" of 10/20/62).

WHAT IS THE MCCARRAN ACT?

It has been called the worst anti-freedom law in our country's history. It was copied from Nazi laws and hurried thru Congress during the Korean War hysteria. Its sponsor was the House Un-American Activities Committee, fountainhead of Dixiecrat and ultra-right prosecutions. As have thousands of opponents, the Norfolk, Va. "Journal and Guide" summed up HUAC as "a Congressional committee pretending to be looking for Communists, but which in truth is trying to stop all efforts on the part of Negroes to achieve civil rights. (March 11, 1961).

"The real aim of . . . the McCarrans is . . . to discredit all progressive ideas and defeat all progressive measures, using anti-Communist hysteria to cloak and justify their drive for power." (from resolutions of CIO National Convention, 1951)

FBI informers are recruited by threatening "exposure" by HUAC or loss of jobs or prosecution for some past offense. These common stoolies have no interest in efforts for a better society; they must add new names and new incidents, or their personal gain in cash and privileges from the FBI-HUAC-McCarran crowd will end.

Ruthann Withrow and another public informer, Ruth Gordienko, are active in the local DFL party. It might be well for DFL'ers to ponder that Senator Joseph McCarthy charged the Democratic party with "20 years of treason" on evidence that is on a par with the McCarran Act case against the Communist Party. In opposition to the McCarran Act, a Mpls. Tribune editorial of July 9, 1961 asked, "Are we ready to start down the road of believing that only the Republican and Democratic parties are safe to belong to, and that some day perhaps even one of them . . . ?"

It is one thing to agree or disagree with Communists—in whole or in part. That is an American's right. It is another to outlaw communist thought, as the McCarran Act does, which weakens freedom of speech and association for everyone.

Should the ultra-right gain power, it may well be the Democratic, and not the Communist party in the dock.

"When the practice of outlawing political parties and various public groups begins, no one can say where it will end."—Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black

For more information, refer to the accompanying literature, and/or read THE WORKER. It is available at the library. Also at 6th and Hennepin, 15c a copy, \$1.25 subscription for three months.

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE—Ralph Taylor, Chairman.

P.O. Box 3621, Loring Station, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

labor donated

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Ralph Taylor, whose name appears on that leaflet as chairman, to be a member of the Communist Party?
Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know what position he occupied in the party?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I know he was a member and at one time I know he—I came to know that he was a club chairman and also he was up in the State leadership.

Mr. NITTLE. Does the Communist Party attach any specific importance to the recruitment or influencing of youth?

Miss WITHROW. Oh, very definitely, especially, primarily in recruitment, I think the, well, in fact, they stated it several times. They knew they had to recruit young people in the party because otherwise their party membership was getting older all the time and they were afraid that it would become completely ineffective. And also, they were always attempting to influence young people even outside the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you participate in party discussions and projects regarding youth?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I did. These discussions actually were always going on.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you recollect the official discussions that took place and as to date, perhaps, or time, during your experience in the party?

Miss WITHROW. I would say most official discussion took place at the State convention, the different sessions of the State convention. Also, there was some discussion at a State committee meeting which I attended as an observer.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, will you tell the committee what knowledge you possess of the Communist Party's all-out effort in 1960 to establish a national youth organization? ¹

Miss WITHROW. Well, I'd say in 1960 all these discussions came to a head when it was announced that a new youth paper was being started. This announcement was made, by the way, at a meeting here in Minneapolis when Mr. Gus Hall was the speaker. Mr. Hall talked about it, a major announcement was made by the man who was State secretary at that time, Mr. Davis. He announced that this paper, *New Horizons For Youth*, would be published later in the year. They hoped in the meantime—this was in May of 1960—they hoped in the meantime that the time would be used to organize support for this, to get donations, get advance subscriptions to guarantee the publication, to use the paper, this youth paper, as sort of a door opener to organizing youth activity.

Mr. NITTLE. The youth paper you are referring to is?

Miss WITHROW. *New Horizons For Youth*.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Withrow, I hand you a packet of correspondence, marked for identification as "Withrow Exhibit No. 2-A," which includes a letter of Phil Bart.

The CHAIRMAN. From whom?

Mr. NITTLE. Phil Bart, B-a-r-t, Mr. Chairman. Phil Bart, at that time, was identified as the national organizational secretary of the Communist Party and a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. You referred to May discussions on the subject, and I handed you that document marked "Withrow Exhibit No. 2-A." Will you tell the committee what that is?

Miss WITHROW. Well, this is material I received over a period of time, most of it from Sam Davis, the State secretary of the party,

¹The 17th National Convention of the Communist Party, U.S.A., which convened Dec. 10-13, 1959, in New York City (the last to meet to date), adopted a resolution "On The Youth Question" which, in part, contained the following language:

"The incoming National Committee, within a period of no more than 30 days after the adjournment of this convention, shall appoint a full-time director of youth affairs and establish a functioning national commission on youth affairs composed of youth and adult members. This commission, among other things, shall issue a regular national party youth bulletin. We urge that in a brief period of time those state committees which have not yet done so, shall establish political and organizational responsibility for youth affairs."

which was in connection with *New Horizons*, giving goals, both subscription and financial goals, giving ideas on how to use the paper, how to get support for the paper. This, as I say, I received this from Mr. Davis.

(Documents marked "Withrow Exhibit No. 2-A." See pp. 1730-1741.)

Mr. NITTLE. I also hand you a copy of a letter dated September 22, 1960, addressed to "Dear Ruthann," and signed "Danny Rubin," and ask whether you can identify that exhibit for the record?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; this is a letter I received in the mail from Danny Rubin in which it explained when he would arrive in town on a visit to Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. And what was the purpose of his visit; is that set forth in the body of the letter?

Miss WITHROW. He states it out specifically; the major, over-all reason was that he was coming here to help organize the youth activity that was starting in this area.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Withrow, would you, for the benefit of the committee, read the entire letter into the record? I think it is fairly brief.

(Document marked "Withrow Exhibit No. 2-B follows:)

Miss WITHROW. It starts out:

[WITHROW EXHIBIT 2-B]

Sept. 22, 1960

Dear Ruthann:

I had hoped to give you plenty of notice on exactly when I would be in your area, but others made last minute decisions on meeting dates that prevented long range planning. As yet I do not have my train schedule worked out and will have to send you details in a couple of days, but I plan to arrive Wed., Nov. 9, 6:10 a.m., from Seattle via Northern Pacific. I plan to leave Minn. Sat., Nov. 12, at 7:30 a.m.

The purpose of the trip as we view it here is:

1. To get as good a picture as possible of mass youth developments and of progressive youth activities.
2. To discuss concretely the plans of a number of progressive youth to form a national organizing committee for a new progressive youth organization at a Conference in late December.
3. To help build New Horizons for Youth and get constructive suggestions for its improvement.
4. To pass on and discuss thinking on problems of developing mass and progressive youth activity.

In helping to fulfill these objectives you might consider trying to arrange some of the following:

1. Meet with youth groups and individuals who are at different levels of association with the organized left.
2. Public speaking engagements before campus organizations and other youth groups, if possible. Meetings with broad youth leaders.
3. Meetings with adults who want to discuss outlook toward youth activity.
4. Leading one or more sessions of Marxist study groups or classes.
5. Viewing actual activities of mass youth groups and of progressive ones.

Topics that I am particularly prepared to speak on at public events are:

The Youth Issues In the National Elections

Is There An American Youth Movement and Where Is It Headed?

Where Young People Have to Point Their Lives In Order to be Happy

The UN Sessions and our Future

The Assault on Jim Crow and The Interests and Ideals of Youth

A Program to Meet the Needs of Working Youth

The Daily Proof that American Youth Need Socialism

For Marxist study groups I am particularly interested in leading discussions or lecturing on:

The Youth Question as a special question
 Class Ideology as it enters our lives
 Developing a working class outlook on life
 The theory of strategy and tactics
 Marxist principles of criticism and self-criticism

I have had experience in leading dozens of study groups and classes in *nearly all major subjects of Marxism*, though I can lay no claim to being an expert.

A few words on my background that may be helpful in arranging any public gatherings or in judging what I'm capable of handling.

Present Activity

Editor, *New Horizons for Youth*
 Member, ADVANCE, New York socialist youth organization

Training

Graduate of Swarthmore College with honors (in political science, history and economics)
 Graduate of University of Penna. Law School
 Apprentice tool and die maker *until called before Eastland Comm.*

Mass Activity Experience

Boy Scout officer
 Jewish Young People's League, officer
 Executive Director, Citizens for a Free City College, Youth Division (Member of Phila. Fellowship Commission)
 Chairman Student Council Elections Comm. (at Swarthmore)
 Active in NAACP, Fellowship House, UNClub, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and on campus in NSA and IRC

Left Youth Organizations

Young Progressives of America, state officer
 Labor Youth League, state chairman
 Socialist Youth Union of Phila., officer

Please let me know if you are able to arrange any of the kinds of activities for me I've suggested so that I may prepare.

Regards,
Danny Rubin
 Danny Rubin
 365 Amboy Street
 Brooklyn 12, New York

P.S. I'm sending a copy to Sam & asking him to arrange my stay.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibits 2-A and 2-B in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Those exhibits will be received and marked accordingly.

Mr. NITTLE. I want to ask you some further questions with respect to Exhibit 2-B that you just read. When did you receive that letter?

Miss WITHROW. It was a few days after the date of September 22, 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you acquainted with Danny Rubin prior to the receipt of that letter?

Miss WITHROW. I was acquainted with his name; I knew him as editor of *New Horizons*. Also, Mr. Davis had talked about him a great deal and had said that he was coming out here.

Mr. NITTLE. When you say Mr. Davis, are you referring to Sam Davis?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know what position Danny Rubin held relative to the overall Communist Party effort in the field of youth?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I knew—this was from reports by Mr. Davis—I knew that he was a member of the Communist Party, and just prior to his coming out here Mr. Davis also told me that he was being sent by the National Committee of the Communist Party as a representative for youth activities.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, in fact, meet with Danny Rubin in Minneapolis subsequent to your receipt of that letter?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us when you met with him?

Miss WITHROW. It was during the time of his visit, November, oh, around the 10th or 11th, I think it was. I met with him twice.

Mr. NITTLE. In November?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Of 1960?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What did you discuss with him?

Miss WITHROW. Well, the first meeting Mr. Rubin and I—and there were several State CP leaders there—and first we just discussed the general progress of the youth organization in this area, what was to come in the near future, and at that time I was asked to take charge of the activity in this area and I was promised the help of Danny Rubin and the State Communist Party leaders.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you give a summary of Mr. Rubin's activity while he was in Minneapolis?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I know of two occasions where he met with me and at least one other representative of the party here. Also, he met with State leaders, and there was one social affair that I participated in that Mr. Rubin spoke.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you aware of any specific groups that he contacted, other than what you have mentioned?

Miss WITHROW. Just the, so far as I know, just the party people.

Mr. NITTLE. And as to individuals he saw, they were party people?

Miss WITHROW. The ones I knew of, except for the one occasion where he spoke before some young people.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know what that occasion was? Where he did speak before young people?

Miss WITHROW. This was a meeting that was arranged by myself and two other party people at which some young people from the university and some young working people were invited. He took one of his topics here and he spoke for a couple hours on that before these young people, about the youth movement and where it is going, or is there a youth movement.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you gather that his visit to Minneapolis was just one stop on his tour of the entire Nation in an effort to set up the conference in Chicago which would ultimately result in the formation of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, this was my impression.

Mr. NITTLE. The letter which you have just read in the record, does that not make that fact clear?

Miss WITHROW. Well, yes, it does, especially in the beginning when he says where he is coming from and that he will be leaving Minneapolis for other places.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Miss Withrow, I hand you another copy of a "Dear friend" letter, marked for identification as "Withrow Exhibit No. 3." It is dated November 7, 1960, and announces a national conference to be held in Chicago, Illinois, Friday, December 30, 1960, to January 1, 1961. Does this letter identify the conference which you later attended in Chicago during 1960?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, this does.

(Document marked "Withrow Exhibit No. 3." See pp. 1742-1745.)

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us the circumstances under which you received that letter.

Miss WITHROW. I don't think that I myself received one of these. I have seen it before, but I did not receive one of these letters.

Mr. NITTLE. Were copies of that letter disseminated within the Communist Party in Minneapolis?

Miss WITHROW. I think I remember seeing one at a club meeting.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in referring to this Chicago conference, stated in a press release on December 22, 1960: "Its purpose is to formulate plans for a new national youth organization—one whose programs and activities will be clandestinely directed by party members."

Following the announcement of J. Edgar Hoover, a press release was then issued on December 29, 1960, by Alva Buxenbaum, Milton Anthopoulos, and Dan Rubin, stated for the Conference Initiating Committee:

We refuse to allow Mr. Hoover and people with such paranoia to inject communism as an issue into our conference. We welcome participation by anyone who agrees with the purposes for which the conference is called without regard to their political label.

Now, one would assume from this statement of Buxenbaum, Anthopoulos, and Dan Rubin, in response to Mr. Hoover's announcement, that the Chicago conference was open to youth, including those "of varying views and affiliations," as was said by Alva Buxenbaum in opening remarks at the conference.

I want to inquire of you, Miss Withrow, whether the conference at Chicago was open to any youth who desired to attend and express his views?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I know it was open by invitation only and even then, upon arriving in Chicago and upon arriving at the conference hall, there were young men who were keeping everybody out except those that could prove that they were delegates to this conference.

Mr. NITTLE. And was the attendance at the conference controlled by the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. I would say through two of the men who were leaders at this conference, who I knew to be party members, they definitely were in control of even their discussions on the floor.

Mr. NITTLE. Now I hand you a copy of the introductory remarks by Alva Buxenbaum for the Chicago Conference Initiating Committee. It is marked for identification as "Withrow Exhibit No. 4," and I direct your attention to page 3, paragraph 4, which states, "He," referring to J. Edgar Hoover, "is trying to divide by injecting a false issue. His charges of secret communist meeting and communist control are obviously ludicrous."

Now, is it your knowledge, as well as that of Mr. Hoover's, that the Chicago conference was controlled by the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Very definitely so, mainly through Mr. Rubin and through Mr. Danny Queen, who I was also told was a member of the Communist Party. This was proved to me on the floor, whenever discussions were held, if somebody would bring up an issue you could see them check it out with Mr. Rubin first. And then quite often if some controversy developed, they would look to him to settle it.

(Document marked "Withrow Exhibit No. 4." See pp. 1746-1748.)

Mr. NITTLE. Was a national youth group formed at this Chicago conference?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, there was.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the national youth group named that was formed?

Miss WITHROW. It was named at the conference the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge of those who assumed positions of leadership within the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I remember the top two, at least. Mrs. Alva Buxenbaum was elected chairman; Marvin Markman was elected executive secretary, or he was given that position of executive secretary and, also, he was authorized to be sort of a traveling organizer.

Mr. NITTLE. Through what procedure were Mrs. Buxenbaum and Mr. Markman appointed these positions?

Miss WITHROW. Well, a group of people from New York, a lot of the work was done on the East Coast, and a group of the people from New York brought a slate of candidates, proposed candidates to this conference. They proposed this slate at the conference, there was an election, and their slate of candidates was elected.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I state for the record that Marvin Markman was identified as a Communist Party member by Albert Gaillard in testimony before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on February 2, 1960. Mrs. Buxenbaum shared speaking honors with Herbert Aptheker, a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, at the first annual convention of Advance. The latter organization has been proceeded against by the Attorney General under the Internal Security Act, alleging it to be a Communist front.

Miss WITHROW, did you participate in any caucuses within the conference in Chicago, and if you did, will you describe what transpired?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I participated in the committee that was supposed to draft the document that would be later called the Youth Bill of Rights. I think there was about a dozen or more people on this committee. There was quite a lively discussion in the beginning, but no action was taken, in that the people heading up the committee asked to wait until a draft that was proposed from, I think it was Philadelphia, or the people on the East Coast, arrived at the conference. When this draft arrived it was read at the committee meeting, voted on, and accepted without very much discussion and brought on to the floor and accepted there.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know who the people were from the East?

Miss WITHROW. No names were mentioned as to who was bringing it, but just that it was late and it caused a great deal of problems.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend any meetings with members of the Communist Party during the conference for the purpose of planning methods to guide the participants in the youth conference in Chicago?

Miss WITHROW. No; I personally didn't. I did notice that there were a couple of private meetings of a few people with Danny Rubin, but I couldn't say that the conference was well planned out in advance.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you receive any assignments to carry out relating to the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee upon your return to Minneapolis?

Miss WITHROW. Well, one of the first things that I had to do was meet a couple times with the State Communist Party leaders and report on what happened at the conference and the part that I and the other delegate from Minnesota took part in at the conference. After that I was supposed to start organizing a definite youth group, taking advantage, if possible, of the paper *New Horizons* as a focal point, but to start organizing young people into an organized group, which, when it was organized and when it was running, would then affiliate itself with the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee.

Mr. NITTLE. During the course of the conference in Chicago an announcement for a holiday party to be given by the New Horizons for Youth Committee was discovered in one of the conference rooms. The address noted on the party announcement or invitation, as to where the party was to take place, was given as 690 14th Avenue NW., New Brighton. Was that not a Minneapolis address?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Upon the announcement your name was listed as one to which the usual RSVP should be directed. However, the date fixed for the party was a date prior to the Chicago conference. Can you explain how this turned up at the Chicago conference 3 days after the party was held in Minneapolis?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I know that both I and Mr. Forichette, who was the other delegate to the conference, took certain materials with us to this conference to sort of give an example of what we were doing here in this city, what sort of activity was going on. I know that I took one of those invitations, but also I know I brought mine back with me, but possibly he gave his to somebody or lost it there, I really couldn't say.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know John Forichette to be a member of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; he was a member of the same club that I was chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us whose address was the address upon the announcement; namely, 690 14th Avenue NW., New Brighton, Minnesota.

Miss WITHROW. That was Mr. Harry Mayville's address.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I state for the record that Henry Harrison Mayville appeared before the Committee on Un-American Activities on October 3, 1961, in its investigation of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights. He invoked the fifth amendment in refusing to affirm or deny current party membership or to give—and to the giving of—testimony respecting the Minnesota Committee To uphold—or rather Defend—the Bill of Rights, and invoked the fifth amendment with respect to any questions relating to the National Assembly for Democratic Rights.

What can you tell us of the new activity for the New Horizons group in Minnesota?

Miss WITHROW. There were only two actual members of the New Horizons of the Youth Committee when I left the Communist Party and that was myself and Mr. Forichette. The other party State leaders were a great force in organizing. We received names of young people which we were told to contact, to use *New Horizons* to first get subscriptions, but to use it as an opening point in which we could discuss certain issues, and if we got any encouragement at all we were to invite these young people to attend meetings of the new youth group which we would, with this nucleus, begin.

Mr. NITTLE. We have just a few more questions in conclusion, Miss Withrow.

We should like to ask whether from your experience as a member of the Communist Party, do you feel there is justification for concern about the Communist movement within the United States?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; I think there is definitely a need for concern. They have a possibility of a great potential. I think there would be more concern perhaps if the Government wasn't taking action now or wasn't initiating action, or if some of the informed people weren't taking a stand on the subject.

The CHAIRMAN. Before actually winding up the testimony of this witness I think there are further questions, and I think the time is just about proper for us to recess. It is now roughly not quite 12:30, so the committee will reconvene at 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:30 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION—WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24, 1964

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2 p.m., Hon. Richard H. Ichord, presiding.)

(Members present: Representatives Ichord, Senner, Bruce, and Schadeberg of the subcommittee, and also Representative Ashbrook.)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

Congressman Willis, the chairman of the full committee as well as chairman of this subcommittee, has been detained by other legislative business.

Before the recess the committee counsel was questioning the witness Ruthann Withrow. The counsel will continue with the interrogation. Proceed, Mr. Counsel.

TESTIMONY OF RUTHANN WITHROW—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Withrow, we had been discussing Communist Party activities among youth, and in connection with that I would like to ask whether you are acquainted with John Howard Tillotson.

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you first get to know him?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I knew his name before I knew him, in that his name was one of those given me as one of the young people I should contact in the formation of this youth group.

Mr. NITTLE. Was his name given to you by a functionary of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; it was given to me by Mr. Davis, the State secretary.

Mr. NITTLE. Did John Tillotson, to your knowledge, attend a picnic in August of 1960 sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, he did.

Mr. NITTLE. I believe you have already described the Freedom of the Press Committee as a Communist front and Communist organization.

Miss WITHROW. That's right.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Nittle, could you pull the mike just a bit closer to you, please.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. It is a little difficult to hear you up here.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Mr. Tillotson present at any fund-raising activities of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Well, he was present at this picnic and he was also present at a bazaar that was held in the fall.

Mr. NITTLE. And by whom was the bazaar held?

Miss WITHROW. It again was sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee.

Mr. NITTLE. And when you are referring to the fall, you are referring to the fall of 1960; is that right?

Miss WITHROW. That's right.

Mr. NITTLE. You also told the committee about a visit of Danny Rubin to Minneapolis. Was the name of John Tillotson given to Danny Rubin in any connection?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it was one of the names that was discussed at the time as the nucleus of the group.

Mr. NITTLE. And could you tell us more in detail about the nature of that discussion?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it was when Danny was here. Plans were gone over rather carefully as to how this youth group should be started, who should be contacted to form the beginnings of it, and what should be done after it got really going.

Mr. NITTLE. Who gave the name of John Tillotson to Danny Rubin?

Miss WITHROW. Well, he didn't give it specifically to Danny Rubin, but he brought it up at a small meeting where I attended and Danny Rubin was there. It was Mr. Davis.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have knowledge why Sam Davis would give the name of John Tillotson to Danny Rubin?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it was among a number of names of young people that Mr. Davis had contact with that he felt could be involved in this new youth group. In most cases it was, these first few people were people that were either relatives of party members or someone close to the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any contact with John Tillotson with respect to the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee conference which was held in Chicago?

Miss WITHROW. Well, he did take a subscription to *New Horizons* and then after we returned from Chicago we held a meeting in February which was to be the first meeting of an organized youth committee, and Mr. Tillotson was one of those that was invited and he did attend.

Mr. NITTLE. And that was in February of 1961?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Who organized and directed the meeting held in Minneapolis in February 1961 at which John Tillotson was present?

Miss WITHROW. Well, there were three individuals responsible for the actual organization of this meeting and the invitations to the various people that came. I was one, Mr. Forichette, and Betty Smith, and this was done, in essence, as a party assignment.

Mr. SENNER. Excuse me, did you say Betty Smith?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. And you have already identified Betty Smith and John Forichette as members of your Communist cell, is that right?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of the meeting in Minneapolis in February?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it was to gather as many of these young people together who had been contacted over the, oh, month or so before and who had voiced any interest in helping to start a Marxist youth organization in the city, and it was to get these people together in the hope of forming at least a nucleus committee from which a large youth organization could grow.

Mr. NITTLE. Was any title selected for this new organization that was to operate in connection with the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, at this meeting the name of the organization was to be Youth for Political Action, and after it was formed and running, the officers, after they were elected, were to affiliate themselves with the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee.

Mr. NITTLE. So that the national group of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee was interested in establishing a branch or affiliate here in Minneapolis and did so under the name Youth for Political Action?

Miss WITHROW. In essence, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Was John Tillotson active in this meeting?

Miss WITHROW. Well, he took part in the discussion as did everybody there.

Mr. NITTLE. There are a few additional facts we would like to have from you with respect to your initial contact with the Communist movement. Would you tell us in more detail what explanation you can give for your contact with a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee, in 1956, I believe it was? What brought this about?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it actually was a result—in October of 1955 I was attending the University of Minnesota and was taking sociology, and for a term paper the subject of my term paper was to be "Communism in America." While I was doing research at the public library I—among other things, I came across a mailing address for the Twin City area to get a copy of *The Worker*, so I sent for one hoping to use some of the information in *The Worker* in building up my term paper. Well, quite a while passed and I had to hand in the term paper, I couldn't wait any longer; and in general I forgot all about it until I was one night contacted by a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee, who said he had received the letter, but this was some months later.

MR. NITTLE. Will you explain the circumstances under which you associated yourself cooperatively with the FBI in the investigation of Communist activities in the Minneapolis area?

MISS WITHROW. Well, with this initial contact by this gentleman representing the Freedom of the Press Committee, in addition to talking about *The Worker* and the stand taken by *The Worker*, he also discussed the role that the Communist Party had played in the past and the role that they were presently playing, how active they were in so many different areas, civil rights, peace movement, how active they were in the Twin City areas, and he made quite strong claims about what they were doing in the Twin Cities. Well, this bothered me a little because I guess I just hadn't realized that the Communist Party here was so active; I hadn't heard too much about them. On a national scale, yes, but in the Twin Cities I just hadn't heard much about them, so this bothered me a little, figuring I didn't believe that they were this active. So a day or so later I went down and I talked to somebody in the Bureau's office, the Federal Bureau of Investigation, to find out mainly in my own mind if even half of what he said was true.

Well, this gentleman in the Bureau's office satisfied me that a good portion of what this Freedom of the Press Committee member said was true, that they were very active, they were a growing committee, and we discussed this for quite some time. And that day he asked me if I was contacted again if I would help the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and I agreed.

MR. NITTLE. Now, Miss Withrow, you told us that you believe there was justification for concern about the Communist movement within the United States. I would like to ask you whether you feel that if corrective action is not taken that the Communist situation within the United States could prove highly dangerous?

MISS WITHROW. I personally feel it could, because mainly, although they aren't very great in numbers, the party here, as I saw it, is very active and actually very dedicated; and from what I read and see has happened in other countries, the Communist Party in the satellite countries before they took over certainly was not very big, and it is not beyond the realm of possibility that the same thing could happen here, and I just feel that something must be done to curtail these activities.

MR. NITTLE. Do you have any specific suggestions for legislative or judicial action?

MISS WITHROW. I really—it is such a big question I am afraid I am not qualified to answer this, but I hope that more qualified people will continue to do something about this.

MR. NITTLE. You left the party in 1961, is that right?

MISS WITHROW. That's right.

MR. NITTLE. Would you tell us what led you to leave it at that time?

MISS WITHROW. Well, the specific issue and the occasion I used to leave the party occurred shortly after I came back from the Chicago conference. During this conference I had made extensive notes, which is one of the few times when we were allowed to make notes. Well, in these notes I included, perhaps I went too far, I included references to the fact that the conference was so completely controlled by Mr. Rubin and Mr. Queen and, through them, by the Communist Party that in

some instances it was rather obvious. Well, these notes were discovered by some party person, and I was called on the carpet for this. I had to give full explanation before several meetings, before a few full-party club meetings to various individuals, to one of the State leaders; in general, I had to explain my actions and attempt to justify them from a party point of view, and more or less I refused to do this. I was—at that time I was ordered to write a Marxist analysis of what I had done wrong and again I refused to do this and I resigned at that point.

MR. NITTLE. Did your assignment to youth activities on behalf of the Communist Party lead you to make your decision to leave this work?

MISS WITHROW. Very definitely. I had actually been—while working in the youth activities. I was not working too hard. I, in some cases, was able to slow down activities, but in general I had been looking for some way, manner, or form in which I could get out of the assignment and get out of the Communist Party without causing too much stir. This had been going on for at least 3 or 4 months prior to my actual resignation that I was looking for some occasion on which to leave.

MR. NITTLE. Just what type of reaction did you have when you were made aware of the party's plans concerning their designs on American youth?

MISS WITHROW. To be very truthful, it made me a little sick, because the way they actually used the young people that they can get in touch with, the way they take issues that are important to the young people, get to know the youth this way, and then turn the young person's attention to what is described as more important issues and gain their respect, gain their confidence, and then over a period of time start using them for their own means, hopefully in the end to recruit a lot of the young people into the party.

MR. NITTLE. What is your opinion as to the future potential of the Communist Party in the United States?

MISS WITHROW. Well, I would hope that it would be curtailed either by legislation or judicial means, because, as I said, they are very active and I think they do have quite a potential the way they—they are very convincing the way they are able to exploit the, oh, the unfortunate or the injustices that do occur in this country. They are able to exploit them for their own ends and make people believe that their answer is the only answer.

MR. NITTLE. Do you have anything further you would like to add to your testimony in conclusion?

MISS WITHROW. Well, it is a pretty big question, but there is one point I would like to emphasize, and that again is the way they do use people, whereas so many times it is referred to as contacts, they don't always think of them as people, but just contacts. There were standing orders to be on the lookout for recruits, to be on the lookout for people who they could eventually influence to support them on issues or financially. They looked among their relatives, on their jobs, among their neighbors, and they were even ordered to join several organizations so as to expand their area of influence; and this is actually one of the reasons why I really resent the misuse of the term, both locally and nationally, the misuse of the term "liberal," because I consider myself a liberal, but I do not consider myself liberal enough to bend

so far over backward to defend the rights of these people who want to supplant our form of government with a dictatorship that I am going to let them walk all over me.

I hope that through legislation, through judicial action, that the activities of the Communist Party can be curtailed. I think that's about all I can say.

Mr. NITTLE. You have, Miss Withrow, offered testimony, or were subpoenaed to testify, before the Subversive Activities Control Board recently; is that correct?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. NITTLE. We are interested in a brief statement with respect to the identity of two persons active in the Minneapolis area. Did you know a Claude McDonald?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. I knew him to be a member of the Communist Party. For a short time he was a member of the same club I belonged to, and then in 1960 he was named as one of those who would take the city committee, who would be on the city committee.

Mr. NITTLE. Of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Clarence H. Sharp?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, I did. I knew that he was also at one time State chairman of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. That is the conclusion of the staff interrogation, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I have a few questions concerning the organization of the Communist Party here in Minnesota.

I didn't understand, Miss Withrow, the distinction between the State board and the State committee. How do you distinguish between the two?

Miss WITHROW. Well, the State—

Mr. ICHORD. You said that the State board was the policymaking body?

Miss WITHROW. Yes, sir. In essence, it would be the executive group of the State committee. It was usually made up—

Mr. ICHORD. The members of the board were members of the State committee?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; they were taken from the State committee. There were usually the elected officers, plus maybe one or two other members of the State committee, who would serve as an executive group for the State committee.

Mr. ICHORD. They were elected at the State convention?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. ICHORD. You attended two of those conventions I understand?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I attended three sessions, but it actually was all one convention.

Mr. ICHORD. Where was that convention held?

Miss WITHROW. They were all held, let's see, well, they were held in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area.

Mr. ICHORD. They were in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. ICHORD. You stated that you were chairman of the North Side Communist Club?

Miss WITHROW. That's right.

Mr. ICHORD. As well as holding the position of treasurer and, I believe you said, educational director?

Miss WITHROW. No, I did not say that I was treasurer or educational director. Those offices also existed within our club, but I held the position only of chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. How did you become chairman? Were you elected?

Miss WITHROW. I was; at the first meeting where elections were held that I attended, I was nominated by the State secretary of the party at that time and I was unanimously elected.

Mr. ICHORD. That would be Mr. Sam Davis?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. ICHORD. Do you know how long the North Side Club had been in existence at the time you became a member of it?

Miss WITHROW. Well, actually the first, very first meeting I attended was not a meeting of the North Side Club; it was held in south Minneapolis, but at that time I did not have enough knowledge of the structure of the party in the city to really know if this club had a name. It was shortly after that that I started attending meetings of the North Side Club.

Mr. ICHORD. At the State convention, do you know how the delegates to the convention were selected? Did they come from the various clubs and how were they elected as delegates?

Miss WITHROW. They were nominated and elected at each club; each club sent a certain number of delegates, depending on the size of the club and the number of dues that had been paid in the past year.

Mr. ICHORD. I am very interested in the direction which you said came down from the State board in regard to gaining membership in the DFL. Does the DFL have an application for you to sign before you become a member?

Miss WITHROW. They have a rather informal application blank, and you have to have at least one sponsor.

Mr. ICHORD. One of the questions on that application blank is whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. It was at the time of this attempt by the party to infiltrate the DFL.

Mr. ICHORD. Did I understand that you were directed by the State leadership of the Communist Party not to answer that question?

Miss WITHROW. I was not; the other members who were joining at that time were directed not to answer. I had been a member of the DFL prior to my joining of the Communist Party.

Mr. ICHORD. I see.

Miss WITHROW. A rather inactive member, but still a member.

Mr. ICHORD. You mean they answered the other questions on the application form and didn't answer the question on communism?

Miss WITHROW. They either did not answer it or answered "No," that they were not members of the Communist Party.

Mr. ICHORD. Were those people questioned for their failure to answer that question on the application blank?

Miss WITHROW. Well, in essence, the attempt actually fizzled out, because only one woman made an issue of it, and she caused quite a bit of controversy within the DFL club for some time, but eventually even she withdrew her application.

Mr. ICHORD. Of course this was just simply an application blank; it wasn't in the form of an affidavit or anything like that?

Miss WITHROW. No, it was a very informal application, mostly to get the person's name, address, and telephone number and enough background about them so that the other people in the ward club knew a little about them.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have just one or two questions.

Miss WITHROW, when you were chairman of the North Side Communist Club, how many people were members in that club?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it varied considerably over a period of time. At times there were only about 4 or 5, and other times it got up to 12 or 13.

Mr. SENNER. In regards to the answer that you gave relative to counsel's question on disciplinary action taken against a member of the Communist Party for failure to comply with orders from the upper echelon, has there been any, or is there any, intimidation, coercion, threats against a member who wants to come out of the party, either by exposure, bodily harm, or something else? It is a complicated question. What I am trying to say is, If a Communist who decides that this philosophy, that this is not for him or her and wants to get out of this cell or out of the group, is there any threat, either by exposure or otherwise against that person?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I think to answer this I'd have to state two specific cases that I saw or took part in. One was the case of the former State secretary of the Communist Party, who did break with the party. He forestalled, shall we say, any further threat of exposure. He was somewhat known, but he forestalled any further threat of exposure by making a statement to the papers himself. However, after he did break with the party, there was a great deal of discussion on the club level—I happened to come into the club, the same club he had been in—just after he resigned, so between the members of that club there was a great deal of discussion on what should be done. Now, in some cases, personalities got involved, what can we do to him now, and also, this was brought up at the State convention. In general, it was more or less left to the current officers to decide what, if anything, should be done. I think, due to the fact that the gentleman in question was popular with many of the people who stayed in the party, the question was just let slide a little bit, although we were more or less given orders that nobody was to see him again, nobody was to talk to him, to avoid him whenever possible.

The other instance that I can think of is the time when I actually resigned. Even though I was, shall we say, in disgrace with the party leaders, they did not want me to resign. I had several discussions with the State secretary, and the final discussion I had with him where I told him flatly that I resigned, I am getting out, I don't want any more to do with it, even though he had been strongly opposed to many

of the things I had done in the past, he attempted to get me to stay in the party. Finally we compromised, at his insistence, that I take a 6 weeks' leave of absence and that if I did not change my mind then my resignation would be effective, but I was told at that time to use that 6 weeks to do some strong studying in Marxist classics and change my attitude.

Mr. SENNER. Is there any pressure applied toward you since your resignation from the party relative to releasing any information or knowledge that you obtained while you held membership in the party?

Miss WITHROW. Well, it was just generally assumed that I wasn't going to.

Mr. SENNER. How was it generally assumed that they could keep you quiet? That is what I am trying to get at.

Miss WITHROW. There were no threats, actually. I don't think the subject was ever brought up and discussed, actually.

Mr. SENNER. They didn't threaten to expose you through some devious means as a member of the Communist Party if you would by chance relate, reveal, expose activities of the Communist Party in Minnesota?

Miss WITHROW. No, they didn't, at least not at that time.

Mr. SENNER. Do you know of any case where threats of bodily harm have been directed toward a member who wants to resign from the Communist Party?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I myself never heard any such threats of physical harm.

Mr. SENNER. In regards to your membership in it and your activity as the chairman of the North Side Club, besides the philosophy behind the political aspect of the Communist Party, was there any promise of reward?

Miss WITHROW. Well, there was always the strong indication of the fact that as you go up in the party you gain a little more power, at least I never got so far, never got as high in the party as to get any promises of reward or anything, but they attempted at least—I think because I was a young member and one of the youngest chairmen they had—they attempted to point out the prestige that was attached.

Mr. SENNER. In other words, you would be the leader of whatever world we have tomorrow in the event their movement is successful?

Miss WITHROW. Yes; one of the young leaders then.

Mr. SENNER. Why are the Communists directing their attention to the youth of this country in your opinion?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I think the most obvious reason is that the current party membership is getting older all the time and they are afraid that they will all die off and it won't continue, but they do attempt to use the enthusiasm of youth to carry out some of their policies. The young people, influence the young people to really get enthusiastic and go forward, and this is the movement of the future, this movement is going to answer the country's problems, this is the only answer.

Mr. SENNER. In this area of the North Side Club, how many fronts or groups have the Communist Party joined, to your knowledge, to divert their activity into some responsible movement or group?

Miss WITHROW. Actual front groups, you mean, or—

Mr. SENNER—fronts, or PTA projects for example; you name it.

Miss WITHROW. Well, it is a little difficult to tell because, except for the groups like the Freedom of the Press Committee, the others join-

ing the PTA, joining peace groups, things like this, were encouraged to do this on an individual level, to consult with their immediate leaders about it. In many cases a lot of the party members would not know what the party member sitting next to them, what organization they might belong to, unless they brought it up in a report.

Mr. SENNER. One last question. When you made your various trips and excursions to the respective conventions, who footed the bill for the movement to these various areas and the expenses?

Miss WITHROW. Well, I made two trips to Chicago and in both cases I was given a little help, a small amount from the party leadership, and I was supposed to make up the rest in my own money. However, the Bureau helped me because I could not afford to make these trips by myself.

Mr. SENNER. As chairman of the North Side Communist Club did you receive any money from New York, the national headquarters? Did you receive money back to the club from the New York headquarters?

Miss WITHROW. This was a little out of my jurisdiction in that most of the finances were discussed only by the treasurer and the State secretary, who was a member of the club. We never did, as I remember it at least, get a full accounting of what moneys we got back, what moneys we had on hand.

Mr. SENNER. I have no further questions. Thank you very kindly.

Mr. BRUCE. Miss Withrow, I would like to pursue a question raised by the gentleman from Missouri, Mr. Ichord. On the matter of the State conventions and the elections at your State conventions, was there competition for the offices that were up for election at the State conventions?

Miss WITHROW. There were—the previous State board submitted a list. I don't know how big the State committee was prior to this, but they were to expand at this meeting to 34 members on the State committee.

Mr. BRUCE. Yes.

Miss WITHROW. The previous State board submitted a list of 34 names who they considered qualified to fill these positions, and these 34 people were elected.

Mr. BRUCE. They submitted 34, and the 34 were elected?

Miss WITHROW. That's correct.

Mr. BRUCE. Were nominations allowed from the floor of the convention?

Miss WITHROW. I think there were a couple of nominations, but there were also withdrawals.

Mr. BRUCE. They withdrew?

Miss WITHROW. Yes.

Mr. BRUCE. Was it your definite impression that it was a handpicked group that was presented?

Miss WITHROW. Oh, very definitely.

Mr. BRUCE. In other words, there was no semblance of a free and open selection by the delegates to the convention?

Miss WITHROW. The slate was presented, there was little or no discussion, and the whole slate was elected.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you very much.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I have no questions.

Mr. ASHBROOK. Miss Withrow, in reference to your meeting that you discussed with Mortimer Daniel Rubin, was that under the auspices of the Communist Party or a front group, or was it just an informal meeting that you had?

Miss WITHROW. Well, now, I attended a couple of meetings with Mr. Rubin, which one—

Mr. ASHBROOK. You mentioned one meeting where you had discussion, or Mr. Rubin had a discussion, of youth activities, and so forth, to meet, I think you used the term, "college people," and other youth leaders who might be interested.

Miss WITHROW. Well, this was a meeting that was requested by Mr. Rubin. It was organized by myself and two other members of the Communist Party, and we invited some of the young people whose names we had been given by Mr. Davis and a few others. These were mostly university students, a few young working people, but this was sponsored technically by the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee.

Mr. ASHBROOK. That is all I have, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Miss Withrow, I will no doubt have something more to say about it, but at this time I certainly want to offer you the thanks of this committee and the side of Congress that it represents for your appearance and for your splendid cooperation.

Miss WITHROW. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

For the record, I think it would be appropriate for me to say this. The witness who has just left the witness stand named certain individuals, and the witness to succeed her on the stand will probably name many more. Now, in compliance with the rules of the House and of this committee, I want it noted in the record that before this morning, quite some time ago, all those persons who were named and will be named were given a written opportunity to appear in executive session to comment on, to explain, to refute, deny, or demolish the allegations. We didn't have any takers; nobody responded to the executive session we had this morning in another room for that purpose. There was one witness who appeared, not for that purpose, but on something else which I need not go into. But I want the record to note the compliance with the rules of the House and of this committee in the interest of fair play.

The committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

(Withrow exhibits Nos. 1, 2-A, 3, 4, 5, and 5-A follow.)

1726 COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 1

An opening discussion . . . on . . .

-- THE 1960 ELECTIONS --

by a trade unionist

June 15, 1960

Since our last assessment of the political situation, which was after Humphrey's withdrawal from the Presidential race, a number of new developments have taken place.

Of course, the overriding event which has affected all political avenues throughout the country has been the U-2 affair and the ensuing failure of the Summit to convene. Comrade Gus Hall's remarks on this matter need no repeating here, but two points need emphasis for this discussion. But first let me reiterate that while the Krushchev visit to the U.S. did not change the basic course of U.S. imperialism, it did tend to open the door for the peace forces, while also providing the Republicans with the opportunity to wrap themselves more tightly with the mantle of Peace which they have loosely worn since Korea. However, neither the peace forces, which includes us, nor the Democratic Party with all of its different currents, or the labor movement made much tangible headway in exposing the illusion that the Republican party is the party of peace.

The first effect of the U-2-Summit failure that needs emphasis is that it unmasked the real foreign policy of U.S. monopoly, made untenable the peace pose of Ike and the Republicans, created new opportunities and tasks for the peace forces, opened the door for the Democratic party, and started a stir in the labor movement. These positive features we must look into more concretely and exploit to the fullest in all of our mass work to advance the fight for peace in the context of the 1960 elections.

The second effect of the Summit failure was to provide the Republicans as well as the most reactionary sections of the Democratic Party, a chance to turn on the old, but still useful refrain, that the Soviet Union, notwithstanding its smiles of the recent past is the same Soviet Union bent on aggression by hook or crook. In playing this old tune, with all of its variations and new arrangements it hopes to build a crisis situation to weld a "national unity" in order to step up the cold war with all of its implications. And, according to Nixon, this may last another 50 years.

While the concrete actions of the Soviet Union expose this propaganda, our emphasis should be that this policy holds dim prospects for the labor movement and all democratic forces, can only lead to war and self-destruction, and that our national interest demands a return to the path of amity, accommodation, and genuine negotiations.

Of course, while searching deeper on these two points, we must attempt to see the overall picture, but our thinking of answers and programs must be geared specifically to our area of operation.

1960 Election Discussion

Page 2

June 15, '60

At this point, we must grapple with these specifics:

- (1) How to participate in the exposure of the real Nixon and Rockefeller while continuing demands of peaceful coexistence through disarmament, for civil liberties, for medical aid to the aged, etc.
- (2) How to advance the candidacy of Stevenson while pressuring all candidates and the Democratic Party for the positive positions indicated above.

As for the Republicans, we need only to look at their slate of State candidates, remind ourselves that Goldwater was the State convention keynoter, and toss in Judd as the National Keynoter and we have a pretty sour concoction; notwithstanding this, and without too much effort spent, we should be alert to any possibilities. At least, we can be gathering information on Nixon and Rockefeller that can go into leaflets for various social groups. In light of the Madison Square Garden meeting, and events elsewhere, is the Twin City Sane Nuclear Policy Committee merely a paper organization?--at any rate, it is the broadest peace vehicle and we should look into it.

Also, the Mpls. Independent Negro Voters League, which presently has 200 members organized mostly through churches and clubs, like the Sane committee, could exert influence on both parties. Here, I wish to insert that we should arrange a meeting with our Negro comrades discussing very concretely the Indep. Voters League:-- its aims, potential, and how can they participate in actually promoting its programs. Also, can we influence other Negroes with political experience, especially among the working class or with left leanings to actively participate in the Voters League functions. Also, the NAACP must be considered as an organization for political pressure on both parties.

On the Stevenson candidacy and the Democratic Party, the State DFL convention passed a resolution commending him as the caliber of man for Democratic Pres. candidate. We cannot overlook, however, that through Eugenie Anderson and Freeman, strong shades of Acheson-Truman got into the foreign policy plank. Certainly the situation is ripe for work in the DFL clubs, and we should discuss with specific comrades to find their way into DFL clubs, actively participating, but having certain specific issues for concentrated effort; such as, bringing the "Draft Stevenson" campaign into the DFL organization, using the better statements of Stevenson, Humphrey, etc. as a means of influencing regular DFL'ers. This certainly requires compiling such speeches and statements for these specific comrades. Since there is a large independent vote -- is it possible to find ways for an independent grouping for Stevenson -- such as along the lines of independent Floyd Olson groupings. Here I am not thinking of old Progressive Party people in the leadership, altho they should not be excluded, but our outlook should be for new and broader forces. In view of the break-through in the fight for peace by a number of International Unions -- Amalgamated, Packing, IUE etc. -- can any locals be influenced to get into the draft Stevenson movement? What about Farmers? What about the 9th District Farmer-Labor Federation? Also we should find our way to the state leader of the Draft Stevenson movement.

1728 COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 1--Continued

1960 Election Discussion

Page 3

June 15, '60

On the Senate Race and Humphrey:- We must use his favorable remarks on peace and civil rights and farm problems, pushing him to positively proclaim repeal of all anti-labor legislation.

On the Congressional scene, as of now, the most important election is that of Weir and Karth, with Weir topping the list. Why? because notwithstanding all their imperfections, they are from the labor movement, accept its leadership, and are presently in office. I would even suggest that Weir's re-election may hang in the balance, because of changes in the composition of population in his district, his age and poor methods of campaigning, as well as his not being in the good graces of the DFL hierarchy. As of now, I would suggest the whole Minneapolis party mobilized for the 3rd District.

Of course, our comrades and friends must be provided with the tools for action in the 8th and 9th Districts and we should take a good look at the 7th District with some discussion with residents of the District.

A special look should be taken of the 5th District, bearing in mind the possibility of defeating Judd and the character of Matthews' campaign.

Also, our comrades in the trade unions, and especially in the C.L.U. and COPE, should consider the possibility of labor's own organization in the 3rd District in the light of Weir's candidacy, and specifically try to organize a 3rd District Farmer-Labor conference.

This year is also a State election year. Any program, from highways to hospitals, etc., requires a budget for millions of dollars which has to come either from the corporations or the people. Taxes obviously is going to be the major issue. This means sales tax, withholding tax, payroll tax, direct, indirect, and all the gimmicks of enabling legislation for the same.

A bigger step must be taken on the question of Open Occupancy with our eyes turned to the labor movement and the churches, particularly in those areas where there is little or no Negro or other minority population.

Labor's program for unemployment compensation, industrial compensation and minimum wages must find ways of blending with the needs of the rural and farm areas.

Without getting into the question of whether or not the Party should run a candidate, in any case the Party must issue material. Here, however, instead of an all-inclusive document, we should consider leaflets on specific issues directed to specific sections of the population, with the aim of moving people into action in one form or another for the 1960 election.

Also, what is the situation in the Dakotas, and what can we do to influence it?

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA 1729

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 1-Continued

1960 Election Discussion

Page 4

June 15, 1960

Finally, we must take note of the City Charter Election and the leadership that labor gave. The vote tends to show that at least for those who voted it was pretty much defined as a vote of the poor vs. the rich with the snobs of the DFL voting with the rich. The "No" coalition, led by labor, included some Republicans as well as Independents. On the basis of this, and the CLU's attack on those DFL leaders who voted with the "monopoly press", is it possible to open new doors for a re-alignment of forces in the affairs of the city and beyond?

An enlarged State Committee meeting should be called with only one point on the agenda - the 1960 elections. If possible, separate meetings should be organized in the Dakotas.

/// /// ///

Space for Discussion Notes:

1730 COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 2-A

Dear *Sam*

Enclosed are the following:

1. The prospectus of the very important new youth newspaper, NEW HORIZONS.
2. Memorandum summarizing all necessary information in connection with the paper.
3. List of suggestions on raising funds and collecting subs.
4. Questionnaire asking young people what they want in NEW HORIZONS.

We need \$5,000 and 2,000 subs @ \$1.00 a year by September 1 to launch and maintain New Horizons. The drive opens June 1.

We propose that your area raise \$ 100 and 40 subs by September 1. If that figure has not already been agreed to, we hope that after discussion with progressive youth and adults, you will see your way clear to accepting these goals. If you can't, let us know.

In order to assure a truly national character to the paper, we would like to have a young person from your area to serve as correspondent.

We want to put the name or pen name of the young person on the masthead. We would also like a sketch of this person's youth activities and organizations which can be used for publication.

Public announcement by ads in the left and liberal press and by a large mailing of the printed prospectus will take place possibly in early June but certainly by the third week in June. We would like each area to order copies of the printed prospectus to mail locally to adults and youth. The prospectus asks for money (from adults especially) and for subs (from youth especially). We will pay for the printing.

P.S. Your mailing expense on the prospectus will be credited to your fund drive goal.

Yours truly,

Danny Rubin, editor

We accept the suggested goals _____ subs ; \$ _____.

We propose instead _____ subs ; \$ _____.

The name of the youth to be on the masthead is: _____

Address (for correspondence with editor only)

Sketch of activities for publication:

The number of copies of the printed prospectus we want is _____.

Mail them to : _____
Name

Address City Zone State

We need all the above information by May 27. Any other comments are, of course, welcome.

Mail the reply form to Daniel Rubin, Room 235, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y. First Contributions will be appreciated.

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 2-A-Continued

Dear Comrade:

On the initiative of a number of young people, a Marxist monthly is being launched some time in the month of September. The name of the new magazine is "New Horizons."

That such a paper is timely and can be of tremendous help in crystallizing a Marxist youth movement is evident to all of us.

It is my opinion that all those formerly active in the youth movement, especially former YCL'ers or LYL'ers, should help financially in launching this paper. Those working on starting the paper are doing a very excellent job from all the material that we have seen. They look for support from many circles among youth as well as adults.

I therefore want to appeal to you personally as a former YCL'er or LYL'er to pledge \$10. as a contribution and solidarity with this new youth venture. If you can, send your own \$10., or collect \$10. from a group of your co-workers.

This is a personal appeal to you and I would urge you to act as I am doing. Send the money directly to me and I will turn it over to them as a contribution from all "former youth." This will be presented to the youth paper in the name of Henry Winston, Gil Green and Bob Thompson.

Comradely yours,

Phil Bart

3rd floor
23 West 26th St.,
New York 10, N.Y.

1732 COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 2-A-Continued

NEW HORIZONS

Founders Fund and Subscription Drive - June 1 to September 1, 1960

What follows are suggestions to aid friends of NEW HORIZONS in raising money and securing subscriptions. There is, of course, no pattern to fit all circumstances.

A successful campaign requires:

1. Conviction that NEW HORIZONS is very important.
2. Planning and organization.
3. Follow-through - to see that desires become reality.

Importance

1. Read the Open Letter (prospectus) of NEW HORIZONS.

Appeal to Adults (Especially for contributions to sustain the paper)

1. By aiding NEW HORIZONS, adults help the rapidly growing youth movement for democratic advances and thus they contribute to a better future for our country.
2. Adults will be helping assure a better future for their own children.
3. NEW HORIZONS will help their children and other young people understand the world they live in and more effectively participate in changing that world for the better.
4. The publisher, Youth Publications, Inc., is composed of a group of young people and not any organization. It depends on its individual supporters for its existence.
5. We are here to stay! We feel certain of our need and confident in our future.
6. Besides a financial contribution, we hope adults will encourage their children to subscribe.
7. Suggestions and criticisms from adults will be welcomed by the editors.

Appeal to Youth (Especially for subs)

1. It should be made clear to young people that NEW HORIZONS is their own forum for expression. Everyone is welcome to contribute his or her work, opinions, suggestions, etc.
2. NEW HORIZONS is controlled by no organization, but rather it is run by a group of young people. It depends financially on its readers.
3. The desire of NEW HORIZONS' Editors to write what its readers want is shown by the "Reader's Opinion Poll".
4. By carrying nation-wide news and views on youth's problems and activities, NEW HORIZONS will be helping to further the actions of youth for their needs.

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 2-A--Continued

LIST OF SPECIFIC SUGGESTIONS

(Many of these projects can be planned and some carried out before first publication.)

I. First Steps in Getting Contributions and Subs

1. Subscribe and contribute yourself.
2. Have your parents and relatives make a contribution.
3. Make a list of your close friends and visit them for subs and money.
4. Have your friends and your organization help you visit others for subs and money.

II. Further Steps

No one can do everything at once. We suggest tackling some of these bigger projects after making headway on the "First Steps".

1. Go to progressive summer resorts and ask if you may collect subs and/or funds for NEW HORIZONS. After getting approval, organize the canvassing.
2. Plan social events, summer picnics and educational events to raise money and collect subs. Members of the NEW HORIZONS staff will be available for such gatherings.
3. Since subs are only \$1 a year, many people can buy two or three subs and make gifts of the extras.
4. Get people to pledge a large sum of money to be paid over a long period of time. Then organize periodic collections of the money.
5. Place ads in local papers. (To be financed locally)
6. Ask school and public libraries to take subs.

III. Where and How to Sell Single Copies

1. Sell NEW HORIZONS to friends in your organization.
2. Ask your organization to sell NEW HORIZONS.
3. Door-to-door canvassing.
4. Sales at recreation centers, corner candy stores, dances, high schools, college, evening schools. (Check regulations on how close to schools, etc. you may sell the paper).
5. Plan to hit the same places and people with succeeding issues.
6. Make arrangements with newsstands to carry NEW HORIZONS. Report to us the maximum price they will pay us in your community.
7. Plan to sell the paper at major events of a political and/or youthful nature. Consider here, the problem of possibly antagonizing the organizers of the event. Consult with us when in doubt.

IV. Promotional Offers

1. For every 15 new subs collected by an individual, NEW HORIZONS is offering a choice of one of the following LP records:
 - a. Bernstein; West Side Story; Columbia
 - b. Odette; Ballad for Americans and Other American Folk Songs; Vanguard
 - c. Beethoven's Violin Concerto; Oistrakh and French Orchestra; Angel
2. Sell a six-month introductory sub for 50¢ apiece or buy one for a friend.
3. For a bundle of 10 or more single papers (not subs) the price is 6¢ per copy, money to be paid in advance.

V. Business-Like Methods

1. We prefer that you use official NEW HORIZONS receipt books which we will send you. Make sure you give a receipt for any money taken for the publication, whether a contribution, sub, or other.
2. If you like, we can mail subs belonging to several people all to one address.

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 2-A--Continued

NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH

Youth Publications, Inc.

799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

PRESS RELEASE

The publishers of New Horizons for Youth today released the following statement:

In September of this year the first issue of a new, national, progressive monthly will appear. Called NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH, it will cover all subjects of interest to young people -- social, cultural, athletic, political. And, in the spirit of youthful inquiry, constructive controversy will be welcomed.

This publication will be written by and for high school, college and working youth and its program is:

1. Peaceful coexistence with all nations, socialist and other; disarmament; an end to the draft and compulsory ROTC.
2. Integration in schools, eating places, shops and everywhere NOW. An end to cancerous racism.
3. A vast job-training and jobs program; a steep increase in the nations school, housing and other welfare programs, using funds released by disarmament.
4. Expansion of democracy, youthful inquiry, and academic freedom by eliminating McCarthyism, past and present, from our national life and by the firm defense of the Bill of Rights.
5. Examination and advancement of the democratic, labor and socialist traditions and aspirations of the American people, especially of its younger generation.
6. Instead of the false answers of cynicism and demoralization, ideals of service to society and confidence in a brighter future, exemplified by the heroic actions of Negro students in the sit-in movement.

The following distinguished citizens are among a larger group of Adult sponsors of this publication:

Dr. Herbert Aptheker, Elmer Benson, Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Dr. Barrows Dunham, Reverend Stephen Fritchman, Rockwell Kent, Carl Marzani, Rev. William Howard Melish, Capt. Hugh Mulzac, George B. Murphy, Jr., Scott Nearing, Prof. Dirk Struik

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 2-A—Continued

Their endorsement does not, of course, indicate responsibility for the day-to-day policies and views of the publication.

The editorial board will be comprised of the following young people:

Daniel Rubin, Editor
Joseph Bauer, Managing Editor
Edward Fujima, Business Manager
Wendy Margolis, Public Relation Director
Felix Carter, Philadelphia
Anne Griffin, New York
Nina Peretz, New York
Kathy Robbins, Philadelphia
Judy Sandoe, New York
Mike Stein, New York

NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH is under no organizational sponsorship or control. The youth who will be participating in the publication of this tabloid-size paper have diverse backgrounds in many youth organizations and activities such as scouting, trade unions, and church groups. Their views of social and political issues vary but fall within the broad spectrum of the left.

The paper will print news, creative writing and letters sent in by interested young people.

Since New Horizons for Youth is not subsidized by any organization or large advertisers, it will depend on public contributions to supplement funds from subscriptions.

Subscriptions may now be secured at \$1.00 per year from Youth Publications, Inc., Room 235, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N.Y.

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WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 2-A--Continued

YOUTH PUBLICATIONS, INC.
RM. 235, 799 BROADWAY
NEW YORK 3, N.Y.

NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH; A PROGRESS REPORTPublication Date

The staff of New Horizons for Youth is hard at work to get the first issue in September off on the right foot. On September 9 the paper will roll off the presses and it will be in your hands within a few days of that date.

Responses So Far

Responses from young people across the country have been very encouraging. Committees of youth to promote N.H.Y. have been established in Philadelphia, Detroit, and Chicago thus far.

Many wonderful ideas and materials have come in. We have received enough poetry to cover every inch of space in the first edition. Some art work, including drawings for a masthead, has come in.

Answers to our questionnaire have been most instructive. One lesson we have drawn from them is that we need as much coverage of developments in science as we can manage.

Keep it all coming, including more poetry. Let's have some photographs of those hot youth sections. What we can't print, if it has value, we will try to mimeograph and give as wide a circulation as possible. Not all areas are sending us news clippings or stories on youth problems and activities. If you want the rest of the country to know what is going on in your neck of the woods, you'll have to get the material in by August 20 to make the first issue.

Some areas haven't yet selected the correspondent or Editorial Council member requested. We need the names from each area to publish in the first issue.

Artists and Designers

We need designs for our masthead by August 26. Cartoons dealing with social and political questions are also needed. We'll run a cartoon per issue.

Present Plans for the First Issue

1. The two conventions and youth electoral activity (news coverage).
2. Summer sit-ins and other plans and activities in the fight for Negro equality (news coverage).
3. Youth in peace marches, international youth gatherings such as the Latin American Youth Congress (eyewitness report), youth activities around the world (news coverage).
4. Aftermath of the San Francisco House Un-American hearing protests, activity against loyalty oaths in high schools and colleges, academic freedom violations (news coverage).
5. Summer job situation for youth and its impact on juvenile delinquency (news coverage).
6. Satire column (regular feature).
7. Cultural section, featuring this issue a review of past and coming TV seasons, and other subjects (regular feature).
8. Sports column -- a progressive slant emphasizing special aspects, non-professional sports, etc. (regular column).
9. Teen-age section -- news briefs on activities and discussion of hot teen topics (regular feature).
10. College student section -- news briefs, NSA Congress, etc. (regular feature).
11. Working youth -- news briefs (regular feature).
12. Cartoon (regular feature).
13. Educational feature -- first subject will be the contribution of radicals and socialists in pointing to solutions in times of national crisis.
(see p. 2)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA 1737

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 2-A-Continued

-2-

14. Miscellaneous smaller items.

We have adopted a general word limit for a single article of 475 words. Only the educational feature will be longer.

Your comments are welcome.

Uninterrupted Publication

We want to avoid the chronic emergency appeals for funds that so many left publications are forced to make. We want to have uninterrupted publication. To do this we need to get off to a good financial start. The warm reception for the paper has not yet taken the form of sizeable financial support. Organized efforts to secure contributions from adults and subs from youth must be stepped up sharply if we are to avoid the problems mentioned.

Some people are waiting for bundles of the first issue before really getting to work on circulation and finances. Before putting in the large initial outlay for publication we need some assurance of success. Guesses on circulation are not enough. That is why we need a maximum of subs and contributions prior to the first issue. Even after publication subs are crucial. They give the paper stability that the ups and downs of bundles cannot give.

A few areas have not definitely committed themselves on sub and contribution goals. Unless we hear differently we will assume agreement on the suggested goals, all of which are rather minimal.

As of 7/25/60 your state is credited with 20 subs (goal 40) and \$ 0 in contributions (goal \$100).

Bundle Orders

As stated previously, a bundle of single copies will be sold to you at the rate of 6¢ per copy if the money is paid in advance. Bundles not paid in advance will cost 7½¢ per copy. Please fill in the order blank below for your first bundle order. Now is the time to figure out how many you can use and how you will sell them. Enclosed is a sheet of suggestions for circulation and fund raising.

Please fill in the dates on school schedules in your area and return promptly. This will help us plan our publication schedule.

	High School	College
Start of Fall 1960 Term	_____	_____
Christmas Vacation From _____ to _____		From _____ to _____
Beginning of exams _____		_____
End of Fall Term _____		_____
Start of Spring 1961 Term _____		_____
Easter Holiday From _____ to _____		From _____ to _____
Beginning of Exams _____		_____
End of Spring Term _____		_____

I wish to receive _____ copies of the first issue of New Horizons for Youth

and be billed for them at the rate of 6¢ per copy. It is my understanding that if the bill is paid prior to shipment the price will be 7½¢ per copy. Ship the copies (bundle) to

Name _____ Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ state _____

Our standing bundle order until further notice is _____ copies.

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 2-A--Continued

AN OPEN LETTER
ON NEW HORIZONS FOR YOUTH

Dear Friend:

SOMETHING
REALLY
NEW

A new horizon extends before us. In September, 1950, a new youth publication, NEW HORIZONS, will appear. It will be written by and for high school, college and working youth and will have contributions from distinguished writers of all ages. All problems and activities of young readers as they grow into adulthood - social, cultural, athletic, scientific, political - will be its concern.

Designed to illuminate the great events stirring the American youth, NEW HORIZONS will stand on the following program:

1. Peaceful coexistence with all nations, socialist and other; disarmament; and end to the draft and compulsory ROTC.
2. Integration in schools, eating places, shops and everywhere NOW! An end to cancerous racism.
3. A vast job-training and job program; a steep increase in the nation's school, housing, recreation and health programs, utilizing funds released by disarmament.
4. Expansion of democracy, youthful inquiry, and academic freedom by eliminating McCarthyism, past and present, from our national life and by the firm defense of the Bill of Rights.
5. Examination and advancement of the democratic, labor and socialist traditions and aspirations of the American people, especially of its younger generation.
6. Instead of the false answers of cynicism and demoralization, ideals of service to society and confidence in a brighter future, exemplified by the heroic actions of Negro students in the sit-in movement.

WHY NEW
HORIZONS?

Should we be able to soar through space in a rocket taking a few quick photographs of our planet, surely they would reveal:

- * Man-created wealth in the U.S. A. capable of giving youth the highest level of well-being and culture known to recorded history.
- * Poverty for 2 million young people, unemployment for more than a million of them; fear of H-bomb destruction; a starved educational system; the poison of race hatred; and the widespread demoralization called juvenile delinquency.
- * A great section of humanity that has chosen to build socialism in their countries as their answer to man's eternal search for an ever richer and fuller life for each new generation.
- * Another vast part of humanity, mainly the darker peoples, struggling for the freedom to make their own decisions and to live in dignity; in this area the youth are often playing the driving role.

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 2-A-Continued

Page 2

- * A ferment among American young people unmatched since the 1930's, with heroic action by Southern Negro students and thousands of supporters, numerous actions for peace and the right of youthful inquiry.

Because this rocket-eye view of the world and of our country is so exciting, keeping pace with the speed of our rocket travel, we have decided to launch NEW HORIZONS.

These exciting events need recording and deeper thought as to their meaning. Youth needs a place of its own in which to exchange opinions on these events as well as on other aspects of the life of youth. We think our publication can help.

Our paper will also welcome controversy that is creative.

Besides the tremendous sit-in movements in the South, student petitions to end A-bomb tests, peace walks, World Youth Festivals, actions against ROTC and against high school and college loyalty oaths, there are other stirrings. Young people are searching anew for radical ideas which will regenerate American life. Witness the birth throughout the country of study groups and forums.

Because of this new current too, we believe publication of NEW HORIZONS now is especially timely.

NEW HORIZONS will appear as a monthly, tabloid-size newspaper.

In creating this publication, a group of us from various cities and with diverse backgrounds have formed ourselves as a staff. We have also asked a number of well-known adults to serve as sponsors. Some of their names and ours are listed below.

YOUR
SUPPORT
IS NEEDED

NEW HORIZONS can be successful only if large sections of the youth and many progressive adults feel that it is a necessary project that they will support.

You can support it by:

- * Subscribing now at the price of \$1.00 per year. (The price per issue will be 10¢.) 2,000 subs are needed by September 1 to give the paper a good start.
- * Contributing your dollars to the \$5,000 fund needed to start publication. A gift sub will be given for every \$5.00 contribution.
- * Contributing newsworthy material on youth activities, problems of youth, submitting creative writing, cartoons, letters, etc., to NEW HORIZONS, Room 235, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

Let's hear from you now! The fall will be too late if NEW HORIZONS is to be born on schedule -- September, 1950.

EDITORIAL BOARD

We are waiting for the addition of a few more young people from cities around the country before publishing the full list.

ADULT SPONSORS

We, the undersigned, welcome the launching of the youth publication outlined in this folder.

Our endorsement does not, of course, necessarily indicate approval or responsibility for the day-to-day policies and views of the paper.

Send me NEW HORIZONS for one year. Find enclosed \$1.00 in check, money order or cash for my subscription. _____

Enclosed also is my contribution of \$_____ to maintain NEW HORIZONS.

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Send my gift subscription to:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

Make all checks and money orders payable to:

YOUTH PUBLICATIONS, INC.

Mailing address:

NEW HORIZONS

Room 235

799 Broadway

New York 3, New York

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Room 235

799 Broadway

New York 3, New York

¹ The original exhibit, as this reproduction indicates, had two page 3's.

1742 COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 3

November 7, 1960

Dear friends:

Keep December 30 through January 1, 1961, open for a most important event. We invite you to come to Chicago, Illinois, to attend a national conference which will establish a committee to organize a national socialist-oriented youth organization.

This is the age of space exploration and of automation. We must work to assure the humane use of modern technology; we must demand and establish the highest standards of social conduct. The goals of national freedom, of peaceful co-existence, of democracy, of ending economic exploitation, of production to benefit the mass of humanity rather than for huge personal profits, of equal and fraternal relations among peoples -- these goals are stirring millions to action and heroic self-sacrifice.

These sentiments are inspiring so many American youth in the struggle for a better life, for a better world. A couple of hundred thousand of us led by Negro students in the South acted for human dignity. Thousands more in New York, Los Angeles, Minnesota marched for peace. Large numbers in San Francisco and throughout the land acted to end thought control. The demand for job training and decent jobs grows. We cannot be called the silent generation.

If progress in production technique and social justice automatically went hand in hand, then our country would be the beacon light of social advance for the welfare of all its people rather than for the benefit of the owners of the huge corporations.

But the promise of a full, rich, happy life for all our people is not being realized. It is the great gap between our country's potential and its claims on the one hand, and life as it is on the other, that is stirring so many of us young people into action. We are fed up with pretensions to democracy while Negro and other minority youth are denied equal opportunity in education, job training, employment, voting, use of public facilities, etc.; while white youth are poisoned by racist training; while young people must take loyalty oaths or have their political beliefs investigated in order to obtain college loan funds, graduate from high school, or obtain a job; while the House Un-American Committee and laws like the Smith and McCarran Acts continue to violate the Bill of Rights and while students are being expelled, suspended and otherwise pressured for sit-in activity, for protesting civil defense drill and other exercises of their rights.

Let us look at the crucial issue of peace as it affects our land. Would we consider it peaceful if the USSR sent planes over St. Louis or if Cuba persuaded the rest of the world not to buy from us? Do constant threats to resume testing and repeated calls for more armaments indicate support for peace? This is no way to end the interference of military service in the lives of youth. It is no way to cut the immediate military budget which should be done so that funds will be available for sorely needed social welfare projects like schools and hospitals.

We are fed up with being told how well off we all are when we know that one-quarter of the three to five millions of unemployed are youth

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 3--Continued

-2-

under 25 years of age, when growing numbers of youth are victims of mental and emotional disturbances and the divorce rate for young marriages is so high.

It is sickening to see the pretensions to morality while corruption in public affairs is revealed with every new newspaper headline. The drive for big profits rather than social advance and justice guides the actions of the bankers and corporations who express self-righteous shock at "juvenile delinquency."

These conditions are having an immense impact on everyone's personal life in a thousand ways, big and small. No one can live untouched by them. And large numbers of our generation have concluded they must act to change these conditions. Learning lessons from these struggles and impressed by newly revealed achievements in the lands of socialism and by their growing moral authority, more and more of us are beginning to look for new answers and new directions. In seeking solutions to our problems, can we not ask: Is not labor vital in helping youth to achieve its needs? Is it not true that all youth, Negro and white, have to stick together to improve conditions? Do not the times demand the creation of a new youth organization based on socialist principles?

Because so many young people are dissatisfied and are acting and searching for answers, we believe it is timely to begin to organize a new socialist-oriented youth organization. It will examine and help advance the democratic, labor, and socialist traditions of the American people. This will give its participants greater understanding of why young people have so many problems in such a wealthy country and will give them perspective in their activities in behalf of America's youth.

At our conference we propose to establish an organization committee that will help build such an organization. We believe the organizing committee can be of service to the many local progressive groups now in existence by supplying educational material, suggesting activities, and passing on organizational experiences of similar groups. We urge you to present your ideas at the Chicago conference.

In our judgment the Conference agenda should include:

1. A statement of purpose and organization.
2. Adoption of an organizing plan.
3. Initiation of suggestions for a campaign on key issues of concern to youth.
4. Designation of a committee to continue the work of the conference.

Your suggestions for an agenda and on all other questions discussed in this letter will be most welcome. Please let us know as soon as possible.

Address all communications or inquiries to Room 636, 799 Broadway, New York 3, N. Y.

The conference will begin Friday evening, December 30, at 7:30 pm, and

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 3--Continued

-3-

will end Sunday, probably in the evening. We will inform you of the exact place later. We hope to meet you at this significant national gathering of youth representatives.

Fraternally yours,

Matt Chapperon, * Editorial Board, Studies on the Left

Aaron Libson, President, Socialist Youth Union of Philadelphia

Bill March, Chairman, Eugen Debs Society, U.C.L.A.

Marv Markman, President, ADVANCE, Socialist youth group in New York

Lenny Potash, Los Angeles folk singer

Ronny Radosh, President, Socialist Club, University of Wisconsin

Danny Rubin, Editor, New Horizons for Youth

* Organizational affiliations are listed for identification purposes only, and do not necessarily indicate support for the conference by such groups.

T.W. 1/3/61 NOTES ALVA BUXENBAUM ELECTED CHAIRMAN
MARVIN MARKMAN " EX. SEC.

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 3—Continued

PROPOSED AGENDA

Friday Session 7:30-10:30 P.M.

1. National Anthem
2. Greetings - Chicago Arrangements Committee
3. Guest Speaker - Lula Safold
4. Introductory Remarks - Alva Buxenbaum for the Initiating Committee
5. Adoption of an Agenda and other Conference Arrangements
6. Discussion of Introductory Remarks and general discussion

Saturday Morning 9:30 - 1:00

Plenary Session

1. Report from Credentials Committee
2. Report from Coordinating Committee elected by Conference

Committee Meetings

A Declaration of Intentions Committee

B Organizational Structure Committee

C Organizing Plan Committee

D Youth Bill of Rights Committee

E Miscellaneous Resolutions Committee

Lunch in Hall 1:00-1:45 P.M.

Saturday Afternoon Session 1:45-4:00

Plenary Session

1. Guest Speaker - Pearl Hart, attorney
2. Report from Declaration of Intentions Committee (Committee A)
3. Discussion and Action on Report

Saturday Night

Gala Party (Place to be announced)

PEACEFUL NEW YEAR TO ALL!!

Sunday Session 12:00 - 5:00

Report from Committees B, C, D, E

Discussion and Action on Committee Reports

Elections

Adjournment

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 4

Introductory Remarks

By Alva Buxenbaum for the
Conference Initiating Committee

The Initiating Committee welcomes you to this conference. The committee consists of those people who signed the call and some people from other areas who did not have a chance to sign. Here they are.

Why have we called this conference? These are our reasons.

We live in a stirring era of human history. Man's achievements reach from the core of the atom to the immensity of space. Automation and technical advances make him capable of producing enough food and other commodities to improve his well being ten fold.

No less stirring are his efforts to guarantee that these scientific and industrial developments will work for his betterment and not be used as instruments for annihilation, enslavement and unemployment.

These efforts for a better life include the movements for peace and national independence and the establishment and growth of the socialist countries. Many hundreds of millions the world over have decided the only way to protect their work and lives and the lives of their children is to act resolutely for peace.

Asia, Africa and Latin America are no longer the gold mines of imperialist powers. The successes of the movements for full national independence on these continents point dramatically to the rapidly changing world we live in.

In Asia, Japanese youth have initiated a strong and effective peace movement. South Korean youth helped to oust Syngman Rhee. Turkish youth were the main spearhead of the revolt against the Menderes dictatorship.

In Africa the movement to end colonial domination, despite attempts at suppression, is developing rapidly and the force of its impact makes certain their achievement of full independence.

The people of Cuba have thrown off the shackles of foreign domination under the shadow of their oppressor.

Each day the strength of socialism in the Soviet Union, People's China and other socialist countries is growing and challenging the United States in field after field. The U.S.S.R. is now laying down a challenge to our country that the people of both countries can only benefit from. - Who can produce more goods and services and create a better life for their people.

These developments are more and more capturing the hearts and imagination of United States youth through their vision and determination shown by these people in building their countries, and are adding impetus to the already active political and social movements in our own country.

American youth are part of this world-wide movement and demand for a life that measures up to today's possibilities. A year ago there were only occasional rumblings among the youth. But since the first sit-ins, which took place on February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina, an ever growing number of youth, Negro and white, have been raising their voices, demanding a brighter future for all young people.

"Jim Crow Must Go Now!"; "Coexistence or No Existence!"; "An End to Congressional Inquisition!"; "Job Training for Youth!"; "Hands Off Cuba!"; These are the shouts of several ~~the~~ hundred thousand youth. The heroic Negro sit-inners are in the forefront of the movements of youth for a better country.

As youth recognize the need for, and the possibility of attaining better living conditions, the numbers of those acting to achieve these conditions will increase. They will see the power of their united action and this too will bring additions to their ranks.

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 4--Continued

-2-

Youth organizations, new and old, that are active on one or another of youth's problems are gaining strength and playing a positive role in our country's development. But something is missing from this scene of mounting youth activity and organization. A new youth organization is needed which will consistently work on all the interrelated issues facing American youth.

- * An organization which is dedicated to the strengthening of peaceful coexistence and the freeing of youth from the burdens of military service and that realizes unless the struggle for peace is successful there will be no future at all for youth.
- * An organization that will fight uncompromisingly to uproot now the cancer of racism which eats at the heart of our nation.
- * An organization that will fight for job training and jobs so that every youth has a chance to earn a living and begin family life without worrying about the next meal.
- * An organization that will work for better schools and for higher education that will not be barred to anyone for lack of tuition.
- * An organization working for an expansion of democracy, enforcement of the Bill of Rights and an end to witchhunting and repression. Without these youth shall be hard put to inquire and to carry on the necessary struggle for improved conditions.

There is need for a youth organization that will take a firm stand on all these issues facing youth. And there is need for a youth organization that will provide a place to delve into the causes of social problems and their solutions, that will provide an opportunity for youth to examine the ideas of scientific socialism and for those who wish, the chance to study this outlook more deeply. It should be open to membership for those who do not necessarily agree with all its principles or activities.

Such an organization would contribute to youth an understanding of the role the working class can and will play in the winning of youth's needs and major social advances. It would make a special contribution to building the widest sort of united action of youth and their organizations for youth's needs. In part this would be done by demonstrating the value of the closest ties of Negro and white and by showing how anti-communism is used to divide youth. In short, it would be dedicated to the examination and advancement of the democratic, labor and socialist traditions and aspirations of the American people.

Growing out of the sit-ins and other youth actions, there is a new flourishing of progressive and socialist youth organizations, action and study groups, choruses and publications. This testifies to the need for and possibility of building a national youth organization making this unique contribution to American life. We shall vigorously promote the building of such groups in more and more localities and their gathering together nationally.

We shall devote our energies to the creation of such a national organization in the near future, aiming at a Founding Convention within a year. We invite youth throughout our country to join us in this worthy effort.

J. Edgar Hoover's fear of what we are doing and of American youth is very clear. He and the other McCarthyite forces are in trouble with the American people and they are beginning to take wild swings. Hoover labels the thousands in San Francisco who protested the attempts of the Un-American Committee to undermine democracy. Truman sneers the Negro sit-inners. And part of the local press has scorned Hoover's attempts to inject false issues into this conference and prevent our right to peaceful assembly and free speech.

A few years ago there was another man who saw communists everywhere and was fearful of them. That was James Forrestal, Secretary of

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 4--Continued

-3-

Defense. He ended his own life by jumping out of a window shouting that the Russians were after him.

As the McCarthyites swing wildly more and more sections of youth and our whole people conclude that they are dangerous to all we hold dear - the Constitution and Bill of Rights, etc. Right now the campaign to abolish Hoover's bosom buddies, the House Un-Americans, is reaching a peak. Tens of thousands of students and other Americans have signed petitions calling for abolition of the Committee. A large lobby to Washington has been called by prominent citizens for January 2.

FBI appropriations are coming up and Hoover is having increasing difficulty here as the mask is ripped off his undemocratic activities. So scare headlines are his answer. Hee

Hoover by the wildness of his attacks on all who work for a better life for the people of our country admits that he is on the defensive. It is we who are here and the youth all over the country who are moving ahead for our needs. No longer are youth and others covered by the attempts to smear and divide. Rather they grow more determined to end witch-hunting and repression and work for improvements in social conditions. They know they are not alone, that wide sections of our people are with them.

Hoover and his friends would like to prevent this conference from taking place. Every method is being used. He is trying to divide by injecting a false issue. His charges of secret communist meeting and communist control are obviously ludicrous. The letter of invitation to this conference was sent out widely to many groups and individuals. The initiators thought would like to explore the proposals indicated in the letter. That letter was sent out November 7. Several newspapers including New Horizons for Youth, summarized the letter of invitation and listed its signers. Many thousands read those public stories. As we said at our press conference we welcome participation by anyone, regardless of whether they are Democrats, Communists or Republicans, if they are favorable to the purposes for which the conference was called.

We consider it an insult to ourselves and to youth generally to assert that we can be controlled by anyone. The only ones we know of who are trying to control this conference are J. Edgar Hoover and his associates. And we certainly will not allow him to succeed in controlling us, telling us what to attend, what ideas to explore, etc.

Those in attendance have varying beliefs and affiliations and we shall democratically make our own decisions despite Hoover's attempt to interfere.

We will not be frightened by small groups of hoodlums incited by some sections of the press for we know that the vast majority of people in our country and in Chicago support our right to free speech and assembly whether or not they agree with all our views. And the messages received and guest speakers here indicate that this is true.

Nor will we let those newspapers that lie and distort cause dissension. We will conduct ourselves in a manner that is an example of dignity, decorum and democracy.

We are sure this conference will be successful in whatever conclusions we reach despite all attempts to prevent its taking place.

Hoover is especially vicious in his attacks against us. This is because we have much to contribute to, as well as learn from other American youth in the course of our joint efforts to make our country fully what it can be - a country that provides a secure, full, rich life for its future generations.

WITHROW EXHIBIT No. 5

COMMUNIST PARTY, U. S. A.

23 WEST 26th STREET • NEW YORK 10 111 • MU 5 5750

February 17, 1960

Dear Club Chairman:

Greetings! In a very real sense you are the keeper of the Party. You are the leader of our Party at the point of production. You are the pilot at the point where our policies are given the test of life, of reality. This is generally accepted. But what is not always fully realized is that you are also at the point where our policies get their spark, their initial start. A thought for a full policy can begin only from real experience and not from abstract discussions -- from some experience that you as club chairman participate in yourself, or from experiences that you hear from your club members daily.

One of the most stubborn weaknesses of our Party is that we do not get the full benefit of such experiences, and we in the leading bodies need those so-called small experiences like life needs the sun. This includes summarized experiences, individual experiences, reactions both mass and individual to our ideals, experiences in struggle or even just individual expressions and discussions. Above all we need your frank reactions as club chairman to our policies, to our press, to our speeches, to our leaflets. Otherwise we may be putting out material that we think meets the problems of the day but we might actually be shooting far off the mark.

We want to take steps to assure the correction of this weakness and guarantee the continued flow of ideas in both districts. We would like very much to get your thinking on how best we can accomplish this.

In order to get a clearer picture of our Party, we are enclosing a short questionnaire. Please fill it out to the best of your ability and return it as soon as possible. Also send in your thoughts on any other matter that you may think important to our Party.

Please feel free to express your thoughts on any question, whether positive or negative, whether political or personal. Use as many extra sheets as you want to and attach them to the questionnaire. But please return all of this material by March 15th, either to your section or state office. If for some reason you can not have this in by the 15th, send it as soon after that date as possible. If for some reason you do not want to sign or indicate the name of the club, this is perfectly alright because what we are interested in is getting the generalized picture of the Party.

Thanking you for your cooperation and hoping to hear from you, not only in answer to the questionnaire, but at any time, I am

Comradely yours,

Gus Hall
Gus Hall,
General Secretary

WITHROW EXHIBIT NO. 5-A

(Feb 1960)

QuestionnaireKind of club. Shop Industrial Neighborhood Other Residential
MiscellaneousHow many do you estimate as the total membership of your club? In other words, how many consider themselves members of the club whether they pay dues or attend meetings or not? 6 How many members pay dues? 6How many come to meetings once a year twice a year
more or less regularly? 5How many are Negro 0 Puerto Rican 0 Mexican-American 0How many are workers 3 farmers students 1 professionals
in business unemployed 1 retired Approximately how many of your members are younger than 30 years of age 3How many are 30 or over 1How long have you, yourself, been a member of the Party 2 yrsHow often does your club meet biweeklyHow many leaflets has your club issued during the past year 0How many Worker readers are there in your club area or jurisdiction 20How many Political Affairs does your club sell 6-7How many club members read Political Affairs 6Do you have educational discussions, classes or lectures yesWhat mass organizations do the members belong to PTA's, WIC,
Local DFL clubWhat is the main mass work led by your club or by your club members

What, concretely, has your club done about:

the 17th Convention resolutions Several discussionsthe 1960 elections Some discussion, more to comecivil rights legislation Individual action reported toquestions of discrimination & supported by clubthe struggle for peace worked thru local peace groups (WIL etc)Do you have any plans for the work of the coming year? 60 Elections + other
main issues

How would you estimate the leadership or help you get from your section, county, state or national?

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will please come to order. Counsel, will you please call your next witness?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Would Norman John Boehnke please come forward?

The CHAIRMAN. Please stand and raise your right hand. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF NORMAN JOHN BOEHNKE

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, would you, for the purpose of the record, please state your full name and residence?

Mr. BOEHNKE. My name is Norman John Boehnke, and that is spelled B-o-e-h-n-k-e.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the date and place of your birth?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I was born May 23, 1926, at Bellingham, Minnesota. My parents' names are Gustav and Marie Boehnke.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I have had 10 years of education at Bellingham, Minnesota. I did not complete my high school education; I completed that by correspondence here in St. Paul.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation and by whom are you employed?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I am employed by the Great Northern Railroad as a crew dispatcher.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been employed with the Great Northern Railroad?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Since 1951.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us your prior employments and the dates of them?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, from up to 1947 I worked with my father on the farm, and from 1947 to about 1949 I worked for Standard Oil as a gas delivery man, and then I again worked with my father on the farm, and in 1951 I came to St. Paul.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever held membership in the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I have.

Mr. NITTLE. During what period were you a member of the Communist Party and in what area did you hold such membership?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I paid my initiation fees to become a member in the Communist Party in 1959. I became an actual member in 1960 and continued as a member until 1963, and I held membership in the North Side Club of the Communist Party, the North Side branch or, I should say, the youth branch of the North Side Club of the Communist Party, and also the South Side branch of the Communist Party, all in Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you kindly tell the committee the circumstances and reasons for your joining the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, it was in 1958, one Sunday afternoon, that I was approached by a certain individual, who stated that he was in the

southeast area of Minneapolis to solicit funds in support for Morton Sobell.

Mr. NITTLE. By the way, who was this individual so that you can refer to him by name in the record?

Mr. BOEHNKE. The individual that contacted me?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BOEHNKE. His name was Jack Barisonzi.

Mr. NITTLE. How do you spell that?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That's B-a-r-i-s-o-n-z-i.

Mr. NITTLE. Proceed.

Mr. BOEHNKE. He stated to me that he was in the southeast area of Minneapolis to solicit funds in support for Morton Sobell. Morton Sobell had been tried and convicted on the charge of conspiracy to collaborate with Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to steal atomic bomb secrets and have the information smuggled over to the government of Soviet Russia. And how an American citizen who was gainfully employed, as this man said he was, could use his freedom to try and free a traitor like Sobell is something that I could neither understand nor tolerate.

Nevertheless, he tried to explain to me that mankind had once again approached the turning point in history, which was just as decisive and final as when man moved out of the tribal stage into the communal stage, and from the communal stage into nationhood, and now he says we are moving into a society of socialism and that man's allegiance ought to be to this current of history, rather than to his native land. As he left, left my apartment, that afternoon, he gave me an invitation to attend a future meeting at the Lemington Hotel, which was to be the Morton Sobell Defense Committee—which was to be sponsored by the Morton Sobell Defense Committee.

After he left, I began to wish that I had not let him in my apartment and I began looking for means that I could do something to stop this kind of activity that I felt was harmful to our country. About a week or so went by, and finally it dawned upon me that the best I could do would be bring the matter to the attention of the FBI. I called the Minneapolis office of the FBI, and the agent that I talked to, he was quite interested. He suggested that I go ahead, attend this meeting—I should feel free to do so—and if I wanted to I could give him a report on it. Nevertheless I think I did what other, or millions of other, Americans would have done at that particular moment, I declined to go, but as time wore on it bothered me; my conscience disturbed me that I had knowledge of certain activity which I had been doing nothing about. And finally I agreed to volunteer my services to the FBI and work my way into the Communist Party so that I could put myself in a position where I could report its activities to the FBI.

Mr. NITTLE. And did you then serve cooperatively with the FBI during your entire period of association with the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. I would like to ask, with respect to the conversations you had with Jack Barisonzi, did he identify himself with respect to any membership in any organization?

Mr. BOEHNKE. He identified himself as a packinghouse worker in south St. Paul and also as a member of the Socialist Labor Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee, please, how you were recruited into the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, naturally after I agreed to volunteer my services to the FBI my first problem was to find means of getting into the party, and the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born offered that opportunity. I became aware of the fact that they were going to hold a meeting in southeast Minneapolis, the location was the Wesley Methodist Foundation. I also became aware of the fact that Louise Pettibone Smith was to be the principal speaker. I had had a prior newspaper clipping from the Minneapolis paper which listed that organization as subversive, and I felt or convinced myself this would be a good opportunity to work my way or to find the contact that I needed to get into the party.

I attended this meeting, and the first person that I contacted was a person by the name of Tania Hemmingson. She indicated that she was active in the membership of the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and she was also acting as a sort of caretaker of a literature display table.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us the steps by which your recruitment in the party resulted from this initial contact with the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I was introduced to various people, one of them as Alma Foley, through this Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and I continued to take part in various meetings of the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. I came, was introduced to more and more people, I got to know where their office was; I was invited up to their office, which was in the third floor, I believe, of the Upper Midwest Building of Minneapolis, which is on Hennepin Avenue.

There I met a fellow by the name of Pat Gleason. Pat Gleason—I had a number of visits with him. He identified himself as having been and being a member of the Communist Party. He stated to me that he had been in the 1932 bonus march in Washington, D.C., as a member of the Communist Party, and he also was active in the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. I indicated to him that I was very interested in his work and also in the Communist Party, and he went ahead and asked me to subscribe to *The Worker*, which is the official newspaper of the Communist Party.

I did take a subscription, and he then went ahead and took me down to the second floor to the office of the Worker Bookshop and introduced me to a fellow by the name of Mr. Sam Davis.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you later ascertain whether or not Sam Davis was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. It was already then known to me that Sam Davis was a member of the Communist Party. I had heard that through various discussions in my contacts with the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did you say the offices for the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born were located?

Mr. BOEHNKE. It was in the Upper Midwest Building on Hennepin Avenue in Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. What floor did they occupy?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Third floor.

Mr. NITTLE. The Worker Bookshop to which you referred, what floor did that occupy?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That was on the second floor.

Mr. NITTLE. And of the same building?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Of the same building.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us where the headquarters of the Communist Party was located in Minneapolis?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, the office on the second floor in the Upper Midwest Building was commonly known as the Worker Bookshop, but Sam Davis was the secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party, he had his office up there; likewise the chairman of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party had his office up there, and so it is safe to assume, I believe, that the office was right in the Worker Bookshop.

Mr. NITTLE. And do I understand you to say that the headquarters was camouflaged under the designation of the Worker Bookshop in fact?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us what the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was and what its objectives were?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, its stated objective is as the name indicates; it is for the protection of the foreign born. No, I attended that meeting that night in which Louise Pettibone Smith was the principal speaker. However, I never heard her make any reference to what protection they had given to any foreign borns, except those who were members of the Communist Party. I did hear her say on many occasions that night that the Government of the United States was just as vicious as Nazi Germany and that the rules or one of the laws that gave our Government those powers to be as vicious as the government of Nazi Germany was the Walter-McCarran Act. And it was a very vicious attack, and, I repeat, there was not one instance, one reference, made as to what help they had given to various members or various people who were foreign born who had come here and needed protection.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us whether, to your knowledge, the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was a branch or affiliate of the national organization known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, it definitely is a branch of it. The Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born very definitely is a branch of the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born, and the American Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born is listed as subversive.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes. And, Mr. Chairman, may I state this committee's *Guide to Subversive Organizations* notes that the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, Minneapolis, was cited in this committee's House Report 1182 in 1957 as a regional office of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

The Guide further states that the Minnesota committee was established on May 21, 1952, Mrs. Alma Foley was secretary. *The Lamp*, the official publication of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, announced that representatives of defense committees meeting in Minneapolis voted to establish a provisional Minnesota

Committee for Protection of Foreign Born at that time, the immediate purpose of which was to defend Peter Warhol, Charles Rowoldt, and Harry Roast, whom the Government sought to deport for subversive and Communist activities.

May I further state for the record that the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was cited as Communist by Attorney General Tom Clark, now Justice Clark, in letters to the Loyalty Review Board released in 1948. It has also been cited by the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in a report to the House, in 1942, as "one of the oldest auxiliaries of the Communist Party in the United States." It was likewise cited by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, in a Senate document in 1956, as having as its purposes the defense of the cases of Communist lawbreakers.

Proceedings were instituted against the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born under the Internal Security Act of 1950. The Subversive Activities Control Board, after extensive hearings in which the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was represented, found the organization to be a Communist-front organization. The Board found that the Communist Party in establishing the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born had for its purposes "to seek to prevent the denaturalization and deportation of officers and members of the Party," that is, the Communist Party, "and to win the goodwill of the foreign born and obtain from them adherents to and support for the party and for party programs."

The findings of the Board were recently, on December 17, 1963, upheld by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia Circuit. That case is now on certiorari before the Supreme Court.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Counsel, if I may, I believe it also is important to add that the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born also served as a sort of screening device of foreigners who might become potential candidates to be recruited into the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. So that the front organization in this case—as was the testimony, I believe, of the prior witness, Miss Withrow, with respect to another—was used as a recruiting device for the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. And they made in this case an appeal to the foreign born by ostensibly being an organization created in their aid, is that right?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Did the Communist Party headquarters remain at the address you have given, Midwest Building, Minneapolis, during the period of your membership in the Communist Party, or was it at any time located elsewhere?

Mr. BOEHNKE. No; during my period of membership the headquarters was always located in the Upper Midwest Building; it has never changed.

Mr. NITTLE. We learned from Miss Withrow, likewise, that as a method of recruitment and indoctrination the Communist Party would assign prospective recruits to Marxist study groups as a form of preparation. Were you assigned to attend Marxist study groups prior to your acceptance into membership of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were these Marxist study groups held?

Mr. BOEHNKE. They were held at the home of the general secretary, or I should say, pardon me, it is the secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party, Sam Davis. They were held at the home of Gunnar Shanks, and also at the Betty Smith home.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, were you invited to attend these Marxist study groups?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I was.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, I hand you a copy of a leaflet marked for identification as "Boehnke Exhibit No. 1." It is a typed announcement and it reads as follows:

[BOEHNKE EXHIBIT No. 1]

ANNOUNCING

THE MARXIST THEORY CLASS
THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 10, 1959

AT GUNNAR SHANK'S HOME

4132 LONGFELLOW AVE.

MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

SUBJECT TO BE DISCUSSED:

THE 1960 ELECTIONS

DISCUSSION LEADER—SAM DAVIS

You are most cordially welcome,
and please bring a friend.

Can you identify that leaflet or notice?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I can.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee what you know about it?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I received this notice, this invitation, to attend a Marxist class through the mail, and I do not know who the sender of this announcement was. But I did subsequently go ahead and attend this meeting, this Marxist class meeting.

Mr. NITTLE. And that is one of the several of the Marxist classes that you have attended, is that right?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. In these groups that met with you in Marxist study, was the group composed of party members and nonparty members alike?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I later discovered that most of the people who did attend these classes were members of the Communist Party. However, it was also open to nonparty members, and I do believe on a number of occasions there were certain people who did attend who were not members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Was the Marxist study group likewise used as a recruiting device for those who were non-Communist members in attendance?

Mr. BOEHNKE. It was used as a recruiting device and also in preparation of preparing an individual to become a member of the party.

Mr. NITTLE. With respect to those members who were in attendance at the Marxist study group that you described as members of the

Communist Party, did you ascertain their party membership through meetings of the Communist Party at a later date?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain in attendance at the Marxist study groups prior to your joining the party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I attended these Marxist study groups from the end of 1959 to sometime, or I should say, rather, 1958—that's my mistake—1958 to about 1960.

Mr. NITTLE. People you met with in the Marxist study groups whom you identified, namely, Gunnar Shanks and Betty Smith, did you ascertain whether or not Gunnar Shanks was a member of the Communist Party and whether or not Betty Smith was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes. It developed at future meetings that both were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. And did you meet with them in closed party meetings?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I have.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us how your membership was finally effected in the Communist Party after your attendance at Marxist study group meetings?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I made frequent visits to the Worker Bookshop where I had frequent conversations with Mr. Sam Davis. One time he stated to me that he had heard a great deal about me and he then slipped me a note and asked me if I wanted to join the movement. He did not state this verbally, he slipped me a note and he says, "We cannot talk about this issue because the Worker Bookshop might be bugged, the FBI might be listening in," and so he passed me a note. At that particular moment I did not, I had no answer for him and I told him I wrote back on a note that I wanted time to think about it. He then took the notes and burned them up in an ash tray, and after some further visits up to the Worker Bookshop I was again asked in the same manner whether I would be interested in joining and my answer at that time was, "Yes."

It was at this time that I—he asked me to pay my initiation fees, he asked for 50 cents, and he says, "You can consider yourself as a member of the Communist Party as of this moment, but before we can assign you to an actual club and actually accept you into full membership, we shall have to do some investigating about you." He says, "Don't feel bad about it, this is a matter of party routine, we cannot let every individual into the party, we must make certain that they are loyal to the cause." And it took quite some time, or I should say quite some months, before I was assigned to a club.

Mr. NITTLE. I believe you testified that you entered upon actual membership in 1960.

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. And how was that membership effected in your case?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I was called by Sam Davis to come over to his house and he said he had something for me to do that night. I drove up to his house and he asked me to drive to another place. We drove to the residence of Betty Smith and, as it turned out, it was a club meeting of the North Side Club. Comrade chairman of the club at that time was Ruthann Withrow, and as I listened in to the meeting she announced the agenda for the evening and she announced that the

agenda contained the admittance of a new member to the Communist Party. I was admitted into membership that night and Sam Davis, who was also a member of the Communist Party, he asked me if I was familiar with the Communist oath. I said I was, and so I was accepted into full membership of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you then assigned to any particular cell or group of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I was assigned to the North Side Club of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Who were the officers of the North Side Club at the time of your initial assignment?

Mr. BOEHNKE. If I recall correctly—I do know that Ruthann Withrow was the comrade chairman of the club, and I am not quite positive who the secretary was at that time, but the members were Sam Davis, of course Ruthann Withrow, Betty Smith, Ellen Davis, Hanley Hemmingson, Claude McDonald, Martin and Tonia Maki.

Mr. NITTLE. How do you spell the last person's name?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Maki?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BOEHNKE. M-a-k-i.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it also spelled M-a-c-k-i-e?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I believe that's the way the Minneapolis phone directory lists it. It is on Russell Avenue, North Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Proceed.

Mr. BOEHNKE. And Evelyn Borchardt, Ernest Borchardt, and John Forichette.

Mr. NITTLE. How do you spell Borchardt?

Mr. BOEHNKE. B-o-r-c-h-a-r-d-t.

Mr. NITTLE. And how do you spell the surname Forichette?

Mr. BOEHNKE. F-o-r-i-c-h-e-t-t-e.

Mr. NITTLE. Did any subsequent changes take place in the leadership of the North Side Club while you were a member of it?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, a change was effected in 1961, I believe it was. Ruthann Withrow had been the previous comrade chairman and as her testimony indicated she resigned and it was Betty Smith who was then selected as comrade chairman of the North Side Club.

Mr. NITTLE. How often did the North Side Club meet?

Mr. BOEHNKE. As a rule the club met about twice a month, one meeting was for educational purposes and the other was for the club to study local events, to determine how they could apply Marxist-Leninist guidance to those issues.

Mr. NITTLE. Where were these meetings held?

Mr. BOEHNKE. They were usually held at members of the club, like for instance Betty Smith, Sam Davis, and the Hanley Hemmingson residences, and others.

Mr. NITTLE. Were these meetings closed to the public? By that I mean to say were persons in admittance only those who were members of the Communist Party and known by you to be such?

Mr. BOEHNKE. They were absolutely closed to the public. These club meetings were absolutely closed to the public. As a matter of fact, we had instructions never to park our car in front of the homes where these meetings were held. We were advised or instructed to walk a number of blocks whenever possible so as to conceal the fact that a meeting was taking place.

Mr. NITTLE. For just a moment I would like to return to the question of identification of places where meetings were held. Were any meetings held at the home of John Forichette whom you identified as a member of that cell?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Not during my membership of the Communist Party. John Forichette, at the time, did not have the facilities to have a club meeting, but I do understand that at later dates he did have them.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the approximate total membership of the North Side Club?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, it varied a great deal. It had sometimes as many as 6 and it went up 8, 10, 12; it varied a great deal.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you describe the structure of the Communist Party in Minnesota as you knew it?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, one cannot speak of the Communist Party in Minnesota without speaking of the Communist Party in Minnesota, North and South Dakota, because this is known as the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party. It is directed by a district executive committee who are made up of members who have their homes, they reside here, right here in the Twin Cities, and all activities, that is, all Communist activities that are activated in this area, that is, Minnesota, North and South Dakota, are planned right here in the Twin City area.

I believe it is also important to note that the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party has made some valuable contributions to the national Communist Party. For instance, Gus Hall was born here in Minnesota; Virginia, Minnesota, in 1932—I believe it was 1932. Now, this is a matter of public record. He was sent to Moscow to attend the Lenin Institute of Political Warfare. Now he is the general secretary of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. That's the national Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. The national Communist Party. That's one of the contributions that the Communist Party here in Minnesota has made to the national party. We have had a former member of the Communist Party who was editor of the *Daily Worker*, and now we have Sam Davis who has served more or less his apprenticeship here in the party and now he is editor of the *Midwest Worker* of the Communist Party. He has moved to Chicago. So, I think the party has been very effective; it has made a great contribution to the national party.

Mr. NITTLE. Who comprised the leadership of the district committee or district executive committee during the period of your membership?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, when I became a member Sam Davis was the national secretary, I mean, Sam Davis was the secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party. Since his becoming editor of the *Midwest Worker* in Chicago, he was succeeded by Rose Renaud Tillotson or Rose Tillotson Renaud.

Mr. NITTLE. That's Rose Tillotson, T-i-l-l-o-t-s-o-n?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. And Renaud, R-e-n-a-u-d?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct. The chairman at the time I became a member was Clarence Sharp. He was, during my period, expelled from the party and he was succeeded by Ralph W. Taylor. The other members of the executive committee are Claude McDonald, Leo Giovannini.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you spell Mr. Giovannini's last name for the record, please?

Mr. BOEHNKE. G-i-o-v-a-n-n-i-n-i. His first name is Leo. And then there was also Betty Smith, who also goes under the name of "Sunne" Smith.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, would you tell the members of Congress what was the principal function of the district executive committee of the Communist Party for the Minnesota-Dakotas District?

Mr. BOEHNKE. One of the functions of the district committee was to establish, organize clubs in upstate Minnesota, North and South Dakota. On a number of these occasions it was the district committee that had to make arrangements to see that an organization by the name of the Freedom of the Press Committee would meet to finance this trip. It was usually Mr. Ralph Taylor, prior to him it was Sam Davis, who traveled these areas to organize clubs, meetings, and sell *Workers*, and to sort of make sure that all these clubs were meeting, that they were carrying on the functions, the directives of the party.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the next lower echelon of the district structure?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Beneath the district structure we had two city committees, one was the city committee of St. Paul, and the other was the city committee of Minneapolis. The city committee of St. Paul I am not very familiar with, but I am familiar with the Minneapolis City Committee.

Mr. NITTLE. There was a separate city committee for the conduct of the Communist operation in St. Paul and a separate one for the conduct of the operation in Minneapolis, is that correct?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. What knowledge do you have of the leadership of the Minneapolis City Committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, the leadership of the Minneapolis City Committee, the secretary was Ralph Taylor. Betty Smith, Claude McDonald, James A. Brown, who also goes under the name of Jack Brown, and at one time Clarence Sharp, had held membership in the city committee, and it also at one time contained Samuel K. Davis and Leo Giovannini.

Mr. NITTLE. Is that G-i-o-v-a-n-n-i-n-i, as nearly as you can spell it?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct; yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the function of the city committee?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, in the early part of my membership I did not have the opportunity to meet with the city committee, but toward the end of my membership it was established that a new city committee should be formed and it should be made up of all comrade chairmen of the various clubs so that they could report to see and give an account whether their clubs were meeting as they were directed to meet, twice a month, whether their dues and all their obligations to the Communist Party were being fulfilled. This was one of the functions of the city committee, because it was closer to the local area it could serve as sort of an overseer.

Mr. NITTLE. The city committee directed the activities of the clubs?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Through the club chairmen who would meet on the city committee?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. In addition to the North Side Club of the Communist Party, which was situated in Minneapolis, do you have knowledge of any other Communist Party clubs within the Minneapolis area?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I one time attended a city committee meeting at the home of Betty Smith at which it was announced by Ralph Taylor the members of the various clubs, and as I recall the Ralph Taylor Club contained a person by the name of Mr. Oscar Mahlke.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you spell his surname, please?

Mr. BOEHNKE. M-a-h-i-l-k-e.

Mr. NITTLE. I understood that the spelling of that might be—according to a note I have, and I might be in error, but I want to be certain—the spelling of the surname was M-a-h-l-k-e?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is what I meant to say.

Mr. NITTLE. I thought you had said M-a-i, but I understand it to be M-a-h-l-k-e.

Mr. BOEHNKE. No, it is M-a-h-l-k-e.

Mr. NITTLE. You told us of the Ralph Taylor Club.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Then one time we had a Youth Organizing Club which contained Betty Smith as director, myself, Ernest and Evelyn Borchardt, and John Forichette.

Mr. NITTLE. You say at one time you had the Youth Organizing Club. Would you just briefly explain that?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, it was in 1961, following the June Supreme Court decision upholding the registration clause of the McCarran Act, that the party issued instructions or directives that the North Side Club was too large, it must meet, have a smaller membership so as to not attract too much attention. First the club was divided in two, and following, some months thereafter, we had a meeting, that is, a club meeting in which Betty Smith read directives of the party. It stated that a youth organizing branch of the North Side Club was to be organized, and that club functioned for a short period. I don't recall exactly how long because I left that club, but I understand that it quit functioning.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you were associated with the club who were the officers of it?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Betty Smith was the director and I was the treasurer of that group.

Mr. NITTLE. I believe you have also mentioned an organization known as the South Side Club.

Mr. BOEHNKE. That club was formed just prior to my termination of my association with the Communist Party, and the names that I recall are Jack Brown, Frausile Hanson, and myself.

Mr. NITTLE. You mentioned a Jack Brown, do you know his address?

Mr. BOEHNKE. It is on Park Avenue; I do not recall the number, but it is on Park Avenue.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you able to help us on the spelling of the first name of Frausile Hanson?

Mr. BOEHNKE. F-r-a-u-s-i-l-e.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, I hand you a photostatic copy of a document marked for identification as "Boehnke Exhibit No. 1." It bears

the title "The Need for Us," and in the opening paragraph asks the question:

What is our group? Generally speaking, it is a group, Marxist-Leninist, oriented in ideology, committed to study, and organized for political and social activities. It includes workers, housewives, mothers, students, etc.

What organization is described by this document?

Mr. BOEHNKE. This document describes the Communist Party of the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. I want to correct that; that should be Boehnke Exhibit No. 2. Would you note that as "Boehnke Exhibit" on the cover, if you have a pencil?

(Document marked "Boehnke Exhibit No. 2.") (See pp. 1778-1780.)

Mr. NITTLE. How did that particular document come into your possession?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, we were scheduled to have a youth branch meeting of the North Side Club over at the Borchardt residence and it was at this meeting that Betty Smith, who was the youth director at that time, read this document.

Mr. NITTLE. And what was the purpose or intent of the document? What was its use?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, first of all the document in simple terms was sort of a pep talk to fellow members of the Communist Party. It stated that even though the Communist Party has encountered growing opposition in recent years, nevertheless the party has also been able to chalk up a long list of successes, and it pointed out to the demonstrations for peace, the demonstrations to ban nuclear testing, the sit-ins, the freedom rides, and the demonstrations to defeat the Communist speakers' ban on college and university campuses, and according to this document the Communist Party takes credit for organizing all these activities and it describes them as indications that the party is successful.

Mr. NITTLE. The document includes the statement that it is "organized for political and social activities." What type of political activities does the party participate in?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, first of all, as far as political activities are concerned, during our various club meetings I have noticed that they always selected candidates who promise to be "soft on communism," who promise to give the—to stand up for laws, amendments, legislation that will give the Communist Party a little more elbowroom, and the party automatically directs to support these candidates. Like, for instance, if a candidate makes a statement that he will vote to abolish or cut the appropriation for this committee, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, they automatically go ahead and support that candidate.

Mr. NITTLE. What are the social activities to which the document refers?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, like Freedom of the Press Committee, picnics, bazaars, and so on and so forth.

Mr. NITTLE. The document further states that the program "includes workers, housewives, mothers, students, etc." How does the Communist Party expect to reach these workers, housewives, mothers, and students?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, to take for example unions, or rather workers. The Communist Party does intend to infiltrate the workers' unions, that is, the unions of labor, and also distribute leaflets, and through these activities they hope to reach the minds of the workers. And housewives, they try to appeal to them through peace, the need for peace. At various times literature has been distributed to the effect that: Mothers, do you want your sons to go to war, and so on and so forth, do you raise your sons to be cannon fodder? And they use these activities to, or these slogans to, appeal to the emotions of mothers.

It would naturally have an appeal, and through these—

Mr. NITTLE. In what way are they making this appeal about peace, and so on, and sons being used as cannon fodder? Do they relate that to any particular area?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, actually the history of this goes back as far as World War II when the Communist Party gave Nazi Germany the green light to invade Poland. They passed out various slogans: "The Yanks aren't coming," and so on and so forth; "We want peace." And after Nazi Germany invaded Soviet Russia, then the slogans changed, and the same thing took place during the Korean war. They did not want us to take part in the Korean war and they knew to withdraw or impair American support they'd have to appeal to mothers and sweethearts, and they said, "Write your Congressman to get us out of the Korean war," and various activities like that.

Now, in our time they are saying the same thing, that mothers do not raise their boys to become soldiers, they want them to have peaceful lives. I think I have got various literature displays—I don't have them with me—which contain descriptions of that.

Mr. NITTLE. I take it you mean to say that since they envisage the Communist countries as our only enemy, they now want "peace" so there is nonresistance to their aggressions; is that right?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, the Communist Party here in the United States realizes full well that at this very moment the balance of military power is in favor of the United States. The Communist Party of the United States, as well as every Communist Party in the world, is fully aware that at this very moment the balance of military power is in favor of the United States. If it were to come to war tomorrow, the Soviet powers, or the Communist powers, would be defeated. Their immediate need is to stall the war so that there will be "peace," they need a breathing spell, but if the balance of power were on the other side, we were weaker than the Soviet Union, then there would be no doubt in my mind—as a matter of fact, a number of quotations have been made by various Communist leaders that they would not hesitate to precipitate a war.

Mr. NITTLE. Further pointing to the document, the document elaborates on the many successes of various groups interested in achieving peace. It also indicates a strong support for such groups and programs calling for disarmament. Why?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I think part of that question was answered by my previous answer. They do want us to disarm at this moment for the simple reason that they want to shift the balance of military might in favor of the Soviet Union.

Mr. NITTLE. To what extent has the Communist Party participated in peace demonstrations in this area?

Mr. BOEHNKE. As long as I was a member of the Communist Party or associated with the Communists, I was always told, and I know that other members of the Communist Party were always advised, to take part in peace demonstrations, ban the nuclear tests, and so on and so forth.

Mr. NITTLE. The document further states:

We can help to bring other groups into action by pointing out why it is in their self-interest to become involved and take a stand.

For instance on an issue like a communist speaking in a university, or from another platform.

Now, to what extent has the Communist Party engaged in an effort to eliminate the so-called Communist speaking ban in colleges?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, the document refers to the success of students in New York, how they had successfully lifted the ban on Communist speakers, and I think it is a matter of public record of the success that they have had right here in Minneapolis when Ben Davis, who is the chairman of the national Communist Party, spoke here. The number of people attracted is an indication that they were successful in lifting that ban.

Mr. NITTLE. During your period of membership in the Communist Party, did you make regular payment of dues to the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I have.

Mr. NITTLE. And were you required to do so?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. In addition to paying dues, were assessments levied upon members for special purposes?

Mr. BOEHNKE. In addition to the dues we were to pay what was called or known as the sustaining fee, and that was required, and we also had voluntary contributions.

Mr. NITTLE. Were any members known by you to be heavy financial contributors to the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes; one individual in particular. His name was John Forichette, an employee of the city of Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us about that?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I know on more than one occasion he volunteered and gave his full pay check to the Communist Party whenever the Communist Party asked for it.

Mr. NITTLE. What other methods were employed by the Communist Party to obtain or raise funds?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, on a number of occasions we had meetings of the Freedom of the Press Committee, which were usually open only to members of the Communist Party, to finance trips of Communists like Ralph Taylor who would travel into North and South Dakota. We would have to dig into our own pockets to finance that. We had picnics, two picnics in which efforts were made to raise money, bazaars were used to raise money, a number of activities that they employed to raise money for the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Were all funds that were raised by your local cells retained for local use?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I cannot give you the exact figures or exact percentage, but a certain percentage went to the youth movement. A great portion was kept here and the balance of it went to the national office.

Mr. NITTLE. When you refer to the youth movement, were you referring to the youth movement of the Communist Party in the Minneapolis area or in this district?

Mr. BOEHNKE. In the Twin City area.

Mr. NITTLE. Were records kept of party dues and, if so, how were they recorded?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, records were kept. During my period that I served as treasurer I was instructed by Betty Smith to use a check book, to list only the first initials, and for each month they paid dues to write the number one, and whenever this number or this amount was turned over to the secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District, I was supposed to put a cross across it which would indicate to fellow members or certain members of the party that dues were paid and they were handed over to the secretary. The reason for this was very fully explained, that if these records should fall into unfriendly hands nobody would be able to know how to decipher them.

On another occasion we were to, we were asked to solicit pledges for the party. Certain people were to make pledges who were known to be heavy contributors to the party. We were to use an envelope and use tickets such as they use at movies, and so on and so forth, and use different colors. For instance, probably a yellow ticket would mean \$5, and in each person's envelope we'd have the initials and if he paid that \$5 we'd tear that ticket in half. That meant that he had made a payment, but to an outsider, an unfriendly person, they would never be able to understand what the meaning of that was.

Mr. NITTLE. Following the Supreme Court decision of June 5, 1961, which upheld the constitutionality of the registration provisions of the Internal Security Act and the findings of the Subversive Activities Control Board requiring the Communist Party to register as a Communist-action organization, was there any apparent change within the party structure?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes; there was a complete change. To give you an example, there was a number of clubs who were listed as being too large, the North Side Club of the Communist Party was too large, it could attract too much attention whenever meetings or club meetings were held there, so it was suggested that the club, or any large club, break in two, and it was also stated that we would no longer know in advance when club meetings would be held, that we would either be notified by telephone or by courier or some way, but we'd have no advance notice or knowledge of when a club meeting was to be held, only the comrade chairman would have the power to call a meeting.

Mr. NITTLE. This change, did it come about as a result of any party directive and, if so, would you explain the circumstances to this committee?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Following the Supreme Court decision there was about three party directives that were issued, that were to prepare the party to go underground, so all these shifts in the party structure were party directives, they came from the higher echelon, they were not as a result of any local decision.

Mr. NITTLE. Now we will turn to another subject for a bit, Mr. Boehnke. Does the Communist Party attach any particular significance or importance to the recruitment of youth?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, it very definitely does. I believe it was in June, no, it was earlier than that, it was in the early part of 1962, that an

announcement was made by Betty Smith that she had directives to organize a club whose sole function was to participate in youth organizing activities, and I became a part of that club.

Mr. NITTLE. To what extent has the Communist Party of Minneapolis achieved any success in the recruitment of youth or in obtaining their support for the Communist Party programs?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I cannot give you any statistics as to the success that they have had, but I do know, because you do not recruit a Communist in just a few years, it takes years of preparation, it takes years, but I do know that they have had tremendous success in preparing certain youth bodies who will eventually become potential candidates for recruitment into the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, we have heard certain educators state, on occasion, that members of the Communist Party should be permitted to speak at colleges and universities because they claim that denying members of the Communist Party the right to speak is not compatible with academic freedom or an objective education. Would you give us your opinion as to whether or not the appearance of known leaders of the Communist Party on college and university campuses contributes in any way to useful knowledge for students?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, on a number of occasions I have heard high ranking party officials speak here in the Twin City areas and in our campuses, and not once have I been able to hear them say, or tell us, what communism actually is in practice. They have never told us why Khrushchev had to build up the "Wall of Shame" in Berlin, why they don't have free elections behind the Iron Curtain, why he had to send in the Red Army to butcher the people of Hungary. All I have heard these Communists do was use their freedom to tear down America, and if that's all they want to use their freedom for, then I can see absolutely nothing good or worthwhile, letting a Communist speak on our campuses.

Mr. NITTLE. What do the Communists expect to achieve through their speaking engagements on campuses?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, naturally their first step is to confuse the young minds, to have them believe—naturally their first purpose is to confuse young minds as to whether America is a possibly vicious country as they would like to have us believe, because they know their minds are still a vacuum, they can be filled with any ideas, and they also know that from that in the future that they will become the future leaders of America.

Mr. NITTLE. I want you to return to the security measures employed by the Communist Party in the Minneapolis area. Was there an exercise of greater security following the Supreme Court decision of 1961?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, there was.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you describe some of the security measures used by the party thereafter?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, like I stated in my previous testimony or in the prior statement there, following the June Supreme Court decision we were no longer to meet on schedule as we had previously done, we were to meet on orders of the comrade chairman, and whenever possible he would state that he would call us by phone, he'd say we'd have a beer drinking party tonight, and that would mean that we would have a meeting. If he would say we will be drinking wine tonight

that would mean that there would be no meeting. It was emphasized that we should not park in front of homes where the meeting was held; we were to avoid the telephone as much as possible. I also might add that whenever meetings were held, whenever we did have club meetings, the radio was turned on because they always feared that the homes were bugged by the FBI and therefore it would sort of foul up what was taking place.

Mr. NITTLE. What were your instructions with respect to the parking of automobiles in the vicinity of meetings or gatherings?

Mr. BOEHNKE. We were to park them about two, three blocks or as far away as possible, and then walk up to the house.

Mr. NITTLE. And were guards stationed at special affairs?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, take for example the picnic that we were to have at Lake Minnetonka. It was described as a Freedom of the Press Committee picnic, but everybody who was a member of the Communist Party knew that it was a picnic for Communists and I, for example, arrived there about 10 o'clock in the morning and already at that time I was instructed by Sam Davis that John Forichette, that the two of us—that is, John Forichette and myself—were to stand guard and let in only those who we knew to be friendly or to be members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of a leaflet marked for identification at "Boehnke Exhibit No. 3," entitled "The Soviet Union Through the Eyes of an American Worker," and ask you if you can identify that as the notice or announcement of the meeting at Lake Minnetonka to which you just referred.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I do.

(Document marked "Boehnke Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend the picnic?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the occasion for the picnic? I note that it was in celebration of the Communist Party publication *The Worker*; is that correct?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, that's not what it was stated to be, but it was: the party has always tried to have annual picnics, but in order to conceal their activities they would describe it as a Freedom of the Press Committee picnic. As a matter of fact, Mr. Ralph Taylor, who is now the chairman of the Minnesota-Dakotas District—he was also chairman of the Minnesota-Dakotas District—was also chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee and he is the person who made arrangements for this picnic. He did not describe it as a *Worker* picnic or a Communist picnic, but as a Freedom of the Press Committee picnic.

Mr. NITTLE. The exhibit also notes that Sam Davis, secretary of the Minneapolis Communist Party and correspondent for *The Worker*, would speak about the Soviet—

The CHAIRMAN. What exhibit are you talking about now?

Mr. NITTLE. Exhibit No. 3. [To witness]—would speak about the Soviet Union in the light of his recent 3-month trip to the Soviet Union. Did Sam Davis speak on that subject?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I left that picnic rather early that afternoon and he did not speak up to the time that I was there, and later I learned from a later club meeting that he was not permitted to speak.

Mr. NITTLE. I also hand you a news article and attached photographs, marked for identification as "Boehnke Exhibit No. 4," which appeared in the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune* of September 11, 1961. This article, under the by-line of Sam Newlund, *Minneapolis Tribune* staff writer, refers to "a Communist-sponsored picnic at Lake Minnetonka" which took place on the preceding day, and notes that "The event was billed as a 'freedom of the press' picnic, but reporters were barred." The article also states that "several reporters were evicted * * * and at least one scuffle developed between picnickers * * *."

Were any security measures placed in effect by the Communist Party at this picnic?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, they were.

(Document marked "Boehnke Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. And what was the purpose of that?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, as I have already indicated, this was in fact nothing else but a Communist picnic. It was not a Freedom of the Press picnic as was advertised, that was just a slogan, and the directors of the Communist Party did not want non-Communists in this particular picnic grounds, and already, earlier in the morning, I was chosen, together with John Forichette, to stand guard. In the afternoon various party members were chosen to stand guard. It was only members of the Communist Party who were chosen to stand guard.

Mr. NITTLE. The photograph appearing in the *Minneapolis Tribune* is captioned "Two Men Were Ejected From Picnic," and noted the ejected persons to be Erik A. "Dunders"¹ and Elmer Grotins, who sought to report the picnic for a Latvian paper. The photograph also shows two unidentified men in the center of the picture in the act of ejecting the two reporters. Can you identify these two men?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I can. They were Clarence Sharp and Ralph Taylor, both members of the Communist Party at that time.

Mr. NITTLE. You have already identified Ralph Taylor as chairman of the Freedom of the Press Committee. Who was its secretary?

Mr. BOEHNKE. The secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party was Rose Tillotson Renaud.

Mr. NITTLE. And she was also secretary of the front called Freedom of the Press Committee?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. I believe you already told us about the primary function of this committee.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. From your observations while a member of the Communist Party, can you tell the committee how demanding the party is of a member's time?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, that can be a long, long story. Even before I became a member of the Communist Party, that is, an actual member of the party, I was required to do various research work on the railroad and submit that information to the Communist Party. It was Mr. Sam Davis who usually asked this information. That's only part of it. Some of these reports, I done awful extensive work on it, and then there was walking up and down the streets passing out Commu-

¹ Correct spelling D-u-n-d-u-r-s.

nist literature and attending meetings and prepare for this and prepare for that. Whatever spare moment that one has the party seems to find means to utilize that spare moment.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, they are very demanding of the member's time?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed with your next question.

Mr. NITTLE. If a member should fail or fall short in fulfilling a party demand, would he be subjected to party discipline?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, he would.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, I have here marked for identification as "Boehnke Exhibit No. 5" a statement in leaflet form entitled "Here Are the Facts, What Do You Think," issued as indicated upon the leaflet by "A Committee of Four," and the document relates to Clarence H. Sharp. It appears from the document that Mr. Sharp came into disfavor with the party leadership when he refused to submit to self-criticism and thereby rejected party discipline, that this incident created a dissenting faction among the rank-and-file membership. Are you familiar with this particular incident?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I am.

(Document marked "Boehnke Exhibit No. 5," follows:)

BOEHNKE EXHIBIT No. 5

HERE ARE THE FACTS; WHAT DO YOU THINK?

Clarence Horatio Sharp has given almost a lifetime to the Progressive movement. He has given unselfishly of his time to this movement for more than 30 years of his life. Recently he was removed from the chairmanship of the Communist Party for the states of Minnesota, North and South Dakota, a position he held respectfully for the past several years. He was purged because he dared criticize Secretary Sam K. Davis, who spearheaded the vicious movement for Sharp's ouster as chairman. Sharp has even been threatened with expulsion altogether from the Party if he fails to admit to Davis his guilt and apologize for his mistakes. Will this fighter for workers' rights now be labeled an "Enemy of the Working Class" by the likes of Davis?

Davis is moving from Minnesota and going to Chicago where he will take over other Party responsibilities. Is he afraid to stay around and face the consequences of his malicious work? Was not Davis also responsible for the purges of such outstanding fighters as Martin Mackie, Carl Ross, Alma Foley, and others? Where are we going? What are we doing? Must we now again turn our backs on another crusader of the Progressive movement? Where's all the gratitude? And how do you suppose his wife Sig feels?

Do you feel the present action against Sharp is justified? Do you feel Sharp should be subjected to such humiliation, ridicule, embarrassment, and heart-break? Who then is to succeed this valiant fighter for freedom and will such a successor be qualified and capable of carrying out these responsibilities? Must there be a change? Can Davis once more be allowed to tear our movement apart?

Flood "The Worker" office in New York with your comments and opinions. Address all mail to "The Worker," Box 28m Madison Square Station, New York 10, New York.

These are the facts; what do you think?

A COMMITTEE OF FOUR.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee what were the circumstances surrounding the removal of Clarence Sharp as chairman of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party for his alleged failure to admit guilt and apologize for his mistake?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, the party had arranged for Frank Wilkinson of California to come and speak at the Labor Temple. It was pretty

much party routine that when they negotiated or made agreement for hall rentals like that, that everything be kept orally. Somehow or other the fact that Frank Wilkinson was going to come to Minneapolis was broadcast over KSTP television, and when the labor people became aware of the fact that Frank Wilkinson was going to speak here they immediately canceled the reservations. Frank Wilkinson had already arrived and when he arrived here he had no place to speak. Sam Davis, he was the general secretary of the Communist Party at that time, as the head of this district he had to explain that situation to the higher echelon, and so he turned on Clarence Sharp, as I recall, the way the facts seem to indicate, and exposed him as a man who was forgetful, he was getting too old to be effective in the party, and he placed the entire blame of this situation on Clarence Sharp. After this event took place it was also brought out that there had been a great deal of friction between these two gentlemen prior to this event; however, I am not aware of it. I was always under the assumption that they were friends, and Clarence Sharp, at that time, he was called in to make a sort of self-critical analysis of himself. He appeared before what can be described as a Communist court and in this court—I was not present at this court but it was, what took place at this meeting was, revealed through other members of the party. Clarence Sharp had submitted about 80 charges against the Communist Party where they had done injustices to him. I cannot fully describe whether they were personal charges or not, but nevertheless it was established that he was either to, he was given the choice either to admit that he had done wrong or else be expelled from the party, and he was given no other alternative, and when it was established at a club meeting that when Clarence Sharp left that Communist court, so to speak, he made the statement "Thank God I'm living in America. If this was a Soviet America or if I were living in Soviet Russia, I would now be facing the firing squads; however, it is now the American laws that are protecting me." And even after that he was still given 90 days' time to either admit that he had done totally, that he was wrong in this entire mixup, which he failed to do and he was subsequently expelled from the party.

Mr. NITTLE. From your experience in the Communist Party, are Communist Party members accorded an opportunity to present a defense to the party leadership when they are accused of violating party orders?

Mr. BOEHKE. From my experience in the Communist Party I can only say this, that when the Communist Party discovers fault you are automatically guilty and you will be charged that way unless you can prove your innocence.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you familiar with, and can you enlighten the committee about, the factors involved in the referred to purges by the Communist Party of Martin Maki, Carl Ross, and Alma Foley?

Mr. BOEHKE. Well, that was a situation that took place before my time. I am somewhat aware of it, but I cannot give you firsthand or personal information.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, then, proceed with the next question.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you say from your experiences in the Communist Party that in order to remain a member in good standing you would have to adhere strictly to all decisions and orders of the leadership without any dissent or differentiation?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. You mentioned a moment ago the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, I believe. What was the primary function of the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights?

Mr. BOEHNKE. This was an emergency committee that was formed following the June 1961 Supreme Court decision.

Mr. NITTLE. Who comprised the leadership of the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Harry Mayville, who also goes under the name of Henry Mayville. He was the secretary of the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, and active in this organization were——

Mr. NITTLE. Before you go on, let me ask you whether you knew Harry Mayville to be a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. BOEHNKE. I was in New York during which he stated that he was a member of the Communist Party. It was in the hotel room that he made that statement.

Mr. NITTLE. Who were the other members you were naming? You named one other, I believe.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Earl Sorg.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Earl Sorg to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Earl Sorg on two different occasions identified himself as a member of the Communist Party. One time, I was over at the Sam Davis residence. Ellen Davis was home, Sam Davis had already moved to Chicago, and Earl Sorg was at the Davis home to do some electrical work. We were served coffee and lunch, and it was during this period that Earl Sorg stated that his business would decline every time pressure was put on the Communist Party or the Communist Party received a great deal of publicity, because he said he was a member of the Communist Party and that his community was aware of it.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you continue naming the leadership? You have named Henry Mayville and Earl Sorg, both of whom you have identified as party members.

Mr. BOEHNKE. There was active in the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, myself, Harry Mayville, Bill Taragos, Meridel LeSueur.

Mr. NITTLE. You named a Bill Taragos. Would you give us his full name and spelling of his surname?

Mr. BOEHNKE. It is Bill Tarrgos, T-a-r-r-g-o-s. That's William J. Tarrgos.

Mr. NITTLE. And how do you spell his last name?

Mr. BOEHNKE. T-a-r-r-g-o-s.

Mr. NITTLE. Is that T-a-r-a-g-o-s, Ta-rog-as?

Mr. BOEHNKE. No, it is T-a-double r-g-o-s.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you identify William J. Tarrgos¹ as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I was taking part in the city committee of Minneapolis at one time which was only open to members of the Communist Party and Bill Tarrgos¹ was to be at this meeting, and he was also assigned to a club, but I cannot recall which club that was at this moment.

¹ Correct spelling T-a-r-a-g-o-s.

Mr. NITTLE. A Communist Party club?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. In what area?

Mr. BOEHNKE. South Minneapolis.

The CHAIRMAN. We will take a 5-minute recess at this point.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, you were identifying those persons who were in a leadership capacity in the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights. You have already identified William J. Tarrgos, Harry Mayville, and Earl Sorg as active in that organization, and you have identified them as members of the Communist Party. Now, would you tell us what other persons were active in the leadership of that organization?

Mr. BOEHNKE. A person by the name of John Baker, who was active; Doctor—

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us whether you knew him to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. On one occasion I drove Betty Smith over to the Baker residence, which was at Talmage Avenue, and she stated that he was a member of the Communist Party but he was in position where he had to conceal his membership, and she also brought out the fact that his wife was opposed to Communist activities.

Mr. NITTLE. Where did John Baker live, if you remember?

Mr. BOEHNKE. On Talmadge Avenue, southeast Minneapolis, or east Minneapolis, rather.

Mr. NITTLE. Proceed with those who were active in that organization.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Dr. J. Cleveland Cradle. I have met him on a number of occasions. He took part in a closed-door meeting of the Communist Party, and also Meridel LeSueur, she was active in the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights.

The CHAIRMAN. And you knew both of them to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Not Meridel LeSueur, I cannot positively identify her, but I do know that Mr. Baker and Dr. Cradle were.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Proceed.

Mr. BOEHNKE. And I think that includes all of the names of the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights. Also, a person by the name of Tania Hemmingson was quite active in the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, although she is not a member of the party. But she pointed out to me on a number of occasions that she has not become a member of the party because if she did she would become subject to deportation. But on a number of occasions I have met with Tania Hemmingson in closed-door sessions of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me point out that what you just said there is consistent with the opening statement I made about this person and another one you named a while ago, where I pointed out that part of the coverage of the Internal Security Act of 1950 may be extended to affiliation. We are interested in that, and so you are now testifying

about people who were affiliated and who took part but who, for reasons you have stated, preferred to remain in the background, is that the substance of it?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct; that is the substance.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend the National Assembly for Democratic Rights at the New York rally in September 1961?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I did.

Mr. NITTLE. Was the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights represented at that affair?

Mr. BOEHNKE. The Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights, and also the Communist Party in this area was represented.

Mr. NITTLE. Who were in the delegations from this area in attendance at that convention?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Tania Hemmingson, who I have already identified; Earl Sorg, who I have already identified as a member of the Communist Party; Harry Mayville, likewise; James White in Hastings, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know James White to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. As we was in New York walking down the street we had a private little talk and he said, he stated to me at that time that he belonged to the Earl Sorg Club in Hastings. Two other members who were present were Oscar Mahlke, who I have already identified, and a person by the name of Joe Lima from Superior, Wisconsin, and he is also a member of the Communist Party by his own admission to me.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I state for the record that the House Committee on Un-American Activities, in October 1961, conducted an investigation of an organization known as the National Assembly for Democratic Rights, which held a meeting at the St. Nicholas Arena in New York City, an assembly which Mr. Boehnke has testified he was in attendance at.

In a report issued following the investigation, this committee found that the National Assembly for Democratic Rights was created and controlled by members and officials of the Communist Party, was organized as a propaganda device for the conduct of mass activity in support of the objective of reversing the Supreme Court decisions of June 5, 1961, which upheld the constitutionality of the registration and disclosure provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and the Smith Act membership clause. The testimony revealed that there were various supporting organizations created in support of the Assembly, and among them was the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights.

Mr. Boehnke, what did you find to be the primary function of the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights?

Mr. BOEHNKE. It was an organization that was to function as every other Communist-action organization; it tried to conceal its association to the Communist Party for the purpose that it could attract people who have a natural instinct to uphold the first and fifth amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. And did it have a special function to engage in propaganda activities—

Mr. BOEHNKE. Very definitely.

Mr. NITTLE—in opposition to the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Smith Act?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Very definitely; it was one of their prime targets to stir up public sentiment against those two acts.

Mr. NITTLE. Was the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights under the complete control and direction of the Communist Party of the United States?

Mr. BOEHNKE. You are speaking of the Minnesota committee now?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, the members that drafted various propaganda leaflets of the party were members of the Communist Party that drafted various propaganda literature that the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights passed out, and I would say that it was under the direction of and control of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us how you personally were selected as a delegate to be in attendance at the National Assembly for Democratic Rights at the convention held in September 1961 in New York City?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, actually the party at that time was searching for delegates and being that I worked for the railroad I was in a position to put myself available as a delegate because I could travel on a pass, and I made this situation or circumstance available to the party and that is one of the reasons that I became a prospective to become a delegate, so, in other words, I more or less volunteered to become a delegate.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the situation with respect to the other persons you named as being in attendance with you? How were they selected? Were they directed to go by the Communist Party leadership in the Minneapolis area?

Mr. BOEHNKE. At this time I do not believe the party was in a position to order those directives as much as they wished to. They directed various people who they felt could go and were financially able to go, but the party knew that it was going to be faced with a legal battle. At that time it did not believe that it had the financial resources to actually force anyone to go; it was more people were selected on the basis who could contribute funds themselves to go.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you familiar with the fact that Henry Harrison Mayville appeared before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on October 3, 1961, in connection with its investigation of the National Assembly for Democratic Rights and that in his appearance here he pleaded the fifth amendment in his refusal to affirm or deny his own current party membership or to give testimony with respect to the Minnesota Committee To uphold—or rather, Defend—the Bill of Rights, and with respect to testimony relating to his activities in connection with the National Assembly for Democratic Rights?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I am aware that he did appear.

Mr. NITTLE. Was his appearance before the House Committee on Un-American Activities discussed in any meetings of the Communist Party which you might have attended?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Rather briefly, and the reason for that was that Mr. Mayville was one of the parties involved with Clarence Sharp during the Frank Wilkinson situation, which Clarence Sharp subsequently was expelled from the party, so there was not too much discussion as

far as Harry Mayville was concerned, but one thing is certain, he did obey party instructions, that is, to take the fifth amendment.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in attendance upon party instructions given to him to conduct himself in that way?

Mr. BOEHNKE. No, I wasn't.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you aware of the existence of party directives with respect to the testimony that witnesses such as Henry Mayville would give before this committee?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What were those instructions?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, we received about three different directives or instructions that if we were contacted by any agent, that is, any agent of the FBI to tell about our party association, and someone, some Federal agency tried to force any party member to register, we were to take the fifth amendment. If the House Un-American Activities Committee subpoenaed us we were to take the fifth amendment, and if we received any mail, any order through the mail to register or state our party association, we were to ignore it. If the mail was sent by registered letter, then we were to return it with just the notation, "Refuse to answer on the grounds of the fifth amendment."

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may we have a brief few minutes to discuss a matter with the staff director?

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess for a couple of minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Proceed, please.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, did the Communist Party ever assign you reports to prepare, the subject matter of which would reveal useful information relative to the national facilities and possibly defense facilities, national security facilities?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, on a number of occasions I was asked to provide the party with information as to what was taking place on the railroad, and I have written a number of reports, I believe it was three of them, and these were turned over to Sam Davis, who was then the secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party, and he personally indicated to me that they were sent on to Chicago.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, in the prior conference with you by the committee investigator you identified certain persons as active in the Communist Party in this area. There are some names here that we have not had occasion to mention in testimony today in connection with the activities of the Communist Party in the Minneapolis area, and we would like to establish their identity at this time.

Did you know a Herdis Brown to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, she is the wife of Jack Brown, who is also known as James Brown, and she is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Herbert Clements?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes. And on various occasions I have worked with Mr. Clements in party assignments, and it was during these assignments that he, on a number of occasions, admitted to me that he was a member of the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Violet Giovannini?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I did. She is the wife of Leo Giovannini, and she took part in closed-door Communist meetings. She cooked for trade union meetings, and she is a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Elsie McDonald?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes; she is the wife of Claude McDonald, who has been identified as a member of the Communist Party, and on a number of occasions it has been established that she is a member of the party.

Mr. NITTLE. And did you know her to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I do.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Sig Sharp?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I do. She is the wife of Clarence Sharp. She also goes by the name of Sig Pearson, I believe, and that's spelled P-e-a-r-s-o-n, I believe, and she was one of the party functionaries, and at one time read a party directive as to how we were to respond to the Supreme Court decision of June 1961.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Irene Shanks?

Mr. BOEHNKE. She is the wife of Gunnar Shanks and she, together with Gunnar Shanks, at one meeting of the Communist Party volunteered to handle party funds. She is a member of the party.

Mr. NITTLE. And you identify her as attending closed Communist Party meetings?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Ann Taylor?

Mr. BOEHNKE. She is the wife of Ralph Taylor. I have never met Ann Taylor in a club meeting, but I have met her in a National Farm Conference of the Communist Party, which was held here in Minneapolis, and that party was only open to members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, I would also like to clarify your testimony with respect to Meridel LeSueur. In executive session before this committee on May 13, 1964, you testified in response to questions posed to you by me as follows:

"Question: Now, do you identify Meridel LeSueur as a member of the Communist Party?"

And you replied, "Yes." I then asked:

"Question: And how do you make that identification?"

And you replied, "Well, Sam Davis left for, he was transferred from Minneapolis to Chicago, and we had a farewell meeting for Sam Davis, and that was held in the Pioneer Hall in St. Paul, and only members of the party could attend that, and she was there and she also made a speech that night. That was only open to party members." And then I asked:

"Question: And she had been active in the various party activities in the area, to your knowledge?" To which you replied, "Yes."

Now, I believe today when I asked you with respect to Meridel LeSueur's party membership, you said that you cannot positively identify her, to your knowledge.

Mr. BOEHNKE. What I mean to say there is this, that she was not a member of our North Side Club. I did not see her paying any dues to the Communist Party, but as my previous testimony indicates, she did take part in the farewell of Sam Davis, which was open only to

members of the Communist Party. It was only members of the Communist Party who were speakers that night. They were Sam Davis himself, Ben Davis of New York, Ellen Davis, Rose Renaud and Meridel LeSueur.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Tom Foley?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I did know Tom Foley. He is the husband of Alma Foley, who is the secretary of the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born. The first time I met Mr. Foley was in the Andrews Hotel. It was a Sunday afternoon, the Minnesota Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born had a speaker, I do not recall who it was, and I was beside Mr. Foley, sat beside Mr. Foley, and we got to talking together and it was at that time that he admitted his membership in the Communist Party to me.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may I suggest that we allow the present witness to stand aside and resume his testimony later in the hearing. We have no further questions to ask of him at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. That will be accorded; in other words, he will resume and complete his testimony later on.

Mr. NITTLE. At a later time, yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. So the witness is excused. I suppose that will be the last witness this evening?

Mr. NITTLE. May I say one more thing, Mr. Chairman. I offer in evidence Exhibits 1 to 5 that have been referred to as Boehnke Exhibits.

The CHAIRMAN. They will be received in the record.

That will complete the hearing this evening.

Before adjourning until tomorrow, however, I would like to make a clarification or correction of a statement I made earlier. I said earlier that all persons who had been named or referred to or characterized, in one way or another, by the previous witness and by the one that just left the stand had all been given an opportunity by written letter to appear this morning in another room at an executive session and afforded an opportunity to voluntarily testify and to, as I said before, explain, refute, deny, question, or comment on the reference to them. I was in error as to one person. I regret it. Actually, one person whose name crept into the record, who was referred to, was only notified this morning that this executive session, if he cared to avail himself to voluntarily appear and testify, that that opportunity would be given to him Friday. We discussed the matter with him and his attorney. We offered, if he cared to be heard, to hear him in executive session during one of the recesses we had; but we were told by him and his attorney that they would prefer to wait until Friday, at a time designated in the notice this morning, to decide whether the witness would or would not avail himself of the opportunity to voluntarily appear Friday. In any event, he will be given that opportunity. The person's name, after consideration, is Mr. John Tillotson. I say I regret I made an all-covering statement when one of the witnesses could only be afforded that opportunity Friday if he cares to, but he will be given an opportunity.

We will stand in recess until 9:30 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 6:15 p.m., Wednesday, June 24, 1964, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 9:30 a.m., Thursday, June 25, 1964.)

(Boehnke Exhibit No. 2 follows:)

BOEHNKE EXHIBIT NO. 2

THE NEED FOR US

What is our group? Generally speaking, it is a group, Marxist-Leninist, oriented in ideology, committed to study, and organized for political and social activities. It includes workers, housewives, mothers, students, etc.

We can say this is fine, great, but aren't the pressures at this time in our lives just a little too great to bear the burden of such groups? Isn't there a McCarran Act that is and has been attempting to smear progressives and label organizations? What about the sometimes successful attempts of the ultra-right and its youth counterpart the YAF to disrupt progressive meetings and activities? Isn't anti-communism a strong weapon that can be used against any group putting forward an advanced position? And doesn't this help to isolate the group and force others to break contact with it in order to keep their shirts clean?

These questions can be drawn into a fine argument for disbanding our groups, drastically changing their character, crawling into the woodwork, or deciding en masse to join some respectable organization. Before we jump to conclusions let us look at a number of other things happening around us today.....

Reactionary trends may be stronger, Right activity may have increased; but are these factors succeeding in keeping the American people silent and motionless? Didn't 5000 youth demonstrate their desire for peace and an end to nuclear testing in February? Didn't thousands more walk for peace coast-to-coast on Easter weekend? Haven't thousands of courageous Negro and white youth, and adults, participated in sit-ins, freedom rides, voter registration, boycotts, and other forms of struggle for equality? Didn't thousands of youth, and hundreds of adult leaders and organizations demonstrate their contempt for the House un-American Committee in San Francisco, and in the months that followed? Didn't New York City College students and faculty (together with tremendous support and solidarity from academic communities across the country) defeat the "communist speakers ban"? Didn't thousands of Minnesotans hear Ben Davis, and uphold their right to hear him? Haven't significant forces in the ~~labor~~ labor movement begun to speak out for peace (Mazey, Gorman, Bridges, Mine-Mill, Packing, etc.) and for civil liberties, and for action on Labor's problems? UAW, Isn't there a host of publications (left, peace, free-inquiry, controversial, and socialist-oriented) being read and circulated? Are not more and more people faced with automation, the continuing military draft and national guard service; aren't more and more people becoming interested and feeling challenged by the advances made in socialist countries. Are not youth especially drawn to the historic program of building communism in the USSR? ~~Thus~~ of thousands have turned out to listen to and question progressives, Marxist, socialists, and communist.

Now that the picture is a little more complete, perhaps we can see the necessity for us to tackle some of our obstacles and what unique role and contributions we can bring into this picture. What are some of the unique features we can bring to these movements?

The fact that we see a relationship between the issues of peace, civil rights, job security, and recreational and educational needs is in itself an advanced

BOEHNKE EXHIBIT NO. 2--Continued

position. We can, and must, tie together these issues so that others may see the common enemy and realize that any action on any issue can not be won independently of the others.

We can help to bring other groups into action by pointing out why it is in their self-interest to become involved and take a stand.

For instance on an issue like a communist speaking in a university or from another platform. People of diverse views and organizations --faculty, League of Women voters, WILPF, democrats, republicans, socialist, students, workers, etc. realized that the denial of rights to one group or individual could mean arbitrary denial to all. Free Speech and free choice were at stake, and this became the issue.

The meaning of unity is the agreed on struggle around a minimum program that advances a democratic issue and at the same time fight the main force that opposed it.

There will be times when we initiate an action and other groups can be urged to participate as the campaign unfolds. It is possible for a group to raise the ideological level of the action, introduce advance content, and still be part of the whole activity.

On the other hand, content more advanced than a group is ready for can isolate you from them; but projecting the same program and ideas as other groups may retard the development and understanding of the whole.

The necessary balance must be found for each situation.

Another important factor is the ability to bring a long range perspective to our work and program. We should be able to explain the forces in society that are at work and add some clarity in our explanation of the rapidly changing world scene. We can also present questions and concepts of socialist life for discussion, investigation, and argumentation.

Is it necessary, and can we overcome fear, frustration, and political moodiness? Are not many areas of people's movements today groping for "goals", leadership, and despite all talk of "no ideology", discussions are ranging far and wide around important questions of "where are we heading", "how can we insure peace", "What happens to my job if there is disarmament", "who are our allies and enemies", what alternatives are there to the status quo" and others.

The old maxim "in unity there is strength" will become increasingly more important and is already being realized by some leaders in the peace, labor, and civil rights fields. We can play a most necessary and important role in this process - one that will win respect for us, help the particular movements, and help bring about unity and clarity against the ultra-right.

Besides, everyone needs a club as a center of activity. Why? to raise questions and problems where many heads are better than one. To bring problems where similar experiences of others may help supply the answer or part of it. To undertake projects where a division of labor is necessary, and where the scope of a project would be too limited if only can be done to improve or modify it next time. To have give and take discussions around a given topic. To build healthy human relationships; it follows that such groups ought to

BOEHNKE EXHIBIT NO. 2--Continued

continue to build their membership and expand their activities.

Groups should strive to unite around a program of education and activity. The exclusions of one or the other for a long period ~~is~~ detrimental.

Second, it is most important for groups to tie themselves in with, and engage in some aspect of the major movements, to constantly work for cooperative efforts among various organizations, and to build unity around a given program. There, groups should initiate actions of their own when this can produce a positive reaction and response from the community or from other groups that are involved.

For instance, the Ben Davis appearance; the large distributions of the Worker during the newspaper strike, the study on taconite, etc.

The need for us is great, and we are going to more than live up to our responsibilities.

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

THURSDAY, JUNE 25, 1964

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Minneapolis, Minn.

PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 9:30 a.m. in Courtroom No. 2 of the U.S. Courthouse Building, Minneapolis, Minn., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; George F. Senner, Jr., of Arizona; Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana; and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Ichord, Senner, Bruce, and Schadeberg.

Committee member also present: Representative John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Alfred M. Nittle and William Hitz, counsel; and Neil E. Wetterman and Philip R. Manuel, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will please come to order. Counsel will call his first witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Claude McDonald please come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing by the truth, so help you God?

Mr. McDONALD. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CLAUDE McDONALD, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, BENJAMIN DRAKE, JR.

Mr. NITTLE. Would the witness please state his name and address in full for the record.

Mr. McDONALD. Claude McDonald, 1621 Fifth Street North, Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. DRAKE. May I answer that?

Mr. NITTLE. Would the witness respond to the question as to whether he is represented by counsel?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate

my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, this is a usual preliminary question. It is inconceivable that this could involve any of your constitutional rights, particularly when it has to do with advice in order to protect you, so I will direct you to answer the question.

Mr. NITTLE. We see you are accompanied by an individual.

The CHAIRMAN. He has been directed; he hasn't answered.

Mr. McDONALD. I have Mr. Ben Drake—

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, I cannot hear the witness at all.

Will you speak into the microphone?

Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Ben Drake.

The CHAIRMAN. What was the answer?

Mr. McDONALD. Mr. Ben Drake, sitting aside of me.

The CHAIRMAN. He is your counsel?

Mr. McDONALD. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel please identify himself for the record.

Mr. DRAKE. Benjamin Drake, Jr., a member of the Minnesota Bar, licensed to practice in this Federal court. My address is 1029-34 Plymouth Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McDonald, would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Again this is the usual preliminary question for the record for purposes of identification and background, and you are directed to answer the question.

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. The Chair disagrees with you and directs you to answer the question.

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee your educational training?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What have been your principal employments?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. McDonald, I think if you choose to invoke those reasons for your refusal to respond to future questions, you may simply state that you will refuse to respond for the same reasons.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, if I may interrupt with one question.

Mr. McDonald, are you a United States citizen?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. The basis of the fifth amendment is apprehension or fear that the answer or response to a question would subject the person to criminal prosecution or tend to incriminate him. Do you honestly fear that to answer the question as to whether or not you are an American citizen would involve you in the fashion I have indicated?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my right under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McDonald, were you present in the hearing room during the testimony of Ruthann Withrow and Norman Boehnke yesterday?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Withrow testified that she knew you as a member of the Communist Party during the time she was active in that organization. Mr. Boehnke likewise identified you as a member of the Communist Party during the period he was active in the Communist Party. Were you a member of the Communist Party during the period 1958 to 1963?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you claim that these witnesses when so testifying were untruthful?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment to the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, in the testimony yesterday, Mr. McDonald, you were not only identified as a member of the Communist Party, but identified as one of the top leaders of the Communist Party in the Minnesota-Dakotas District. You were identified as being a member of the district executive committee. Was that testimony correct?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McDonald, were you in 1943 the financial secretary of Local 1152, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, Minneapolis, Minnesota?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party while serving in that capacity, namely, financial secretary of Local 1152?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of a January 1943 open letter to the Congress of the United States titled "A Message to the House of Representatives," which is marked for identification as "McDonald Exhibit No. 1."

As appears upon the exhibit, this letter was sponsored by the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties and opposed the renewal of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities in 1943. I direct your attention to the fourth page of the exhibit, where your name, "Claude McDonald," identified as financial secretary, Local 1152, United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, Minneapolis, Minnesota, is among others listed as a signer of this message.

Did you authorize your name to be used as a sponsor of this message?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit No. 1 in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be admitted at this point.

(Document marked "McDonald Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. At the time your name appeared on this list, were you aware that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties prior to that date had been publicly described as Communist by Attorney General Francis Biddle?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was likewise described as Communist and subversive in House reports of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities commencing in a report of June 25, 1942, and certain subsequent reports. Likewise in hearings on the Civil Rights Congress, the Subversive Activities Control Board in its report of July 26, 1957, characterized the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties as an organization "operating in the field of civil rights under [Communist] Party

domination and headed by responsible Party functionaries.' The National Federation for Constitutional Liberties, the National Negro Congress and the 'dormant' International Labor Defense merged into the Communist 'created' Civil Rights Congress."

Were you aware that the National Federation for Constitutional Liberties was a Communist-dominated organization headed by Communist Party functionaries at the time you sponsored the message to Congress?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment to the United States Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, If I may, I would like to ask another question.

Mr. Witness, do you believe in the first, the fifth, and the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1943 at the time you sponsored Exhibit No. 1?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you serve as financial secretary of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America in Minneapolis?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it not a fact, Mr. McDonald, that the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America was expelled from the CIO by vote of its convention in 1949 for being under the control of the Communist Party?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you acting under Communist Party directives in 1943 at the time you opposed the renewal of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now I hand you a photostatic copy of the minutes of the sponsors meeting, and a list of those in attendance as the sponsors, of the American Peace Crusade held at 1702 12th Street, Northwest, Washington, D.C., on March 15, 1951. The document is marked for identification as "McDonald Exhibit No. 2."

I direct your attention to the last page where Claude McDonald of Minneapolis, Minnesota, is listed as being in attendance at the sponsors meeting in Washington, D.C., on March 15, 1951.

Were you in attendance at this meeting of the American Peace Crusade?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit 2 in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. The document will be received at this point.

(Document marked "McDonald Exhibit No. 2." See pp. 1794-1799.)

Mr. NITTLE. The Subversive Activities Control Board in its report of 1957 found the American Peace Crusade to be a "Communist-front organization" and ordered it to register as such. Now I should like to inquire, Mr. McDonald, whether you were a member of the Communist Party at the time of your attendance at the March 15, 1951, meeting of sponsors of the American Peace Crusade in Washington, D.C.?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The Subversive Activities Control Board further found that the American Peace Crusade was admittedly created in February 1951 with offices in New York City. Now would you tell us, please, what was the purpose of the March 1951 meeting of sponsors in Washington, D.C.?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. It is to be noted from the exhibit, Mr. McDonald, that there were representatives and sponsors in attendance at the Washington meeting from several States throughout the United States. Was not this Washington, D.C., meeting in effect a national conference with representatives in attendance from several States of the United States?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this not a national organizational meeting of the American Peace Crusade one month following its creation in February in New York City?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Can you tell us of your own knowledge whether or not the American Peace Crusade, which was founded in New York City in February 1951, was created there at the national headquarters of the Communist Party?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, on page 1 of the exhibit of the minutes of the sponsors meeting, the minutes record that the agenda accepted at the meeting was as follows, and I direct your attention to Items I to IV:

I. (a) Progress Report on Crusade's Activities.

(b) New Political Developments in the Fight for Peace.

(c) Program and Preparations for the Pilgrimage.

II. The Ballot Campaign.

III. People's Peace Congress.

IV. Proposals for Organizational Structure of the Crusade.

Mr. McDonald, was it not, in fact, a purpose of this meeting to create a nationwide organization with affiliated organizations in various localities throughout the United States, and to accomplish this through the activity and assistance of representatives who were in attendance at this national meeting in Washington, you being one in attendance?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. In its 1957 report, the Subversive Activities Control Board further found that a local organization named the "Minneapolis Council for Peace" was a chapter of and an integral part of the American Peace Crusade and that the Minneapolis Council for Peace subsequently changed its name to the "Minneapolis Chapter of the American Peace Crusade."

Did you participate in the formation or activities of the Minneapolis Council for Peace and the Minneapolis Chapter of the American Peace Crusade?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party at the time of your attendance at this meeting in Washington?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you acquainted with Martin Mackie?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know him to be a member of the Communist Party underground during the 1950's?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate

my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at that time make your home available so that Martin Mackie might remain in hiding?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you made financial contributions to Communist causes?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now I hand you a photostatic copy of page MW-3 of the official Communist publication *The Worker*, Sunday, May 8, 1960, marked for identification as "McDonald Exhibit No. 3," in which an ad appears captioned "Minnesota," which reads, "Greetings to The Worker and the Midwest Edition." C. E. McDonald is identified as one of the sponsors of the ad.

Did you participate in the sending of greetings to *The Worker* on the May Day occasion noted by the advertisement?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

(Document marked "McDonald Exhibit No. 3," and retained in committee file.)

Mr. NITTLE. It is noted that, in the advertisements on that page, greetings from other persons and groups appear thereon, and from other Communist parties and sympathizers.

Did you make any financial contribution to *The Worker* for the publication of this greeting?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in attendance at a Communist Party picnic sponsored by the Minnesota-Dakotas Freedom of the Press Committee at Lake Minnetonka on Sunday, September 10, 1961?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a photograph taken at this particular picnic, in which there appears a photograph of two individuals. This photograph is marked as "McDonald Exhibit No. 3-A."

Is not the individual on the left of that photograph Claude McDonald?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

(Photograph marked "McDonald Exhibit No. 3-A" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. And is not the person to the right, to whom you appear to be talking, Dr. J. Cleveland Cradle?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Dr. Cradle was identified by Mr. Boehnke as being a member of the Communist Party. Do you know Dr. Cradle to be such?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not one of those who acted as a guard at the picnic grounds?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. In testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board on March 17, 1964, Miss Withrow testified that in the early part of 1961 it was announced at a Communist Party meeting that the city committee of the Communist Party of Minneapolis had been reconstituted or reinstituted and that temporarily, at least, four members would take charge of this committee; namely, Clarence Sharp, Betty Smith, Leo Giovannini, and Claude McDonald. Were you appointed to such position of authority on the Minneapolis City Committee in 1961?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were Clarence Sharp, Betty Smith, and Leo Giovannini also appointed to similar positions of authority at that time?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. During this period were you not also a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Following the Supreme Court decision of 1961, which upheld the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act of 1950, did the North Side Club of the Communist Party receive orders to split into smaller groups as a matter of party security?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not then at the same time a member of the district executive committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board on May 17, 1964, that you were in attendance at a meeting of the Communist Party during May 1962, which was held at the residence of Betty Smith. He testified that at this meeting Mrs. Smith announced that she had been released from other duties of the party so she could devote full time to the youth movement.

Were you in attendance at that meeting?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke further testified that John Forichette was in attendance at that meeting. Was John Forichette in attendance?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Mr. Forichette to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. At this same meeting in May 1962, according to additional testimony before the Board, a piece of paper was passed around containing the names of the new State board of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party.

Were not Rose Renaud and Ralph Taylor thus identified as being secretary and chairman, respectively, of the district committee?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, may I at this point request that Exhibit 3-A be received in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be admitted.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, during the 1962 convention of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor group, were you not challenged as to your credentials and then rejected as a delegate as a result of alleged Communist Party activities?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McDonald, I hand you a photostatic copy of a statement entitled "There Is Nothing To Fear But Fear Itself," marked for identification as "McDonald Exhibit No. 4."

A notation is contained on the statement that it was being issued by C. E. McDonald. Did you distribute that exhibit at the Democratic-Farmer-Labor convention?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

(Document marked "McDonald Exhibit No. 4" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. In your attempt to serve as a delegate to the convention, was it your purpose to introduce the Communist Party line at the convention?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I refer you to the statement, and in it are you not, in effect, highly critical of those who informed the Democratic-Farmer-Labor credentials committee of the attempt by the Communist Party to have party members seated as delegates, and you did not refute any charges that the Communist Party attempted to infiltrate this convention? I ask you now whether if at that time you had such knowledge.

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time when you sought to have your credentials accepted as a delegate to that convention, were you not then a member of the district executive committee of the Communist Party and the top official in the Minnesota-Dakotas District?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee is informed that a person named Carl Flodquist and yourself were expelled from Local 386 of the Brotherhood of Painters, Decorators, and Paperhangers of America, respectively, on November 2, 1961, and February 5, 1962, for "subversive activities." Is this correct?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee has received further information that prior to your expulsion from Local 386 you and Carl Flodquist would caucus with certain other members of the local for the purpose of employing certain tactics to disrupt union meetings. Is this information correct?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to regular union meetings, did you and Carl Flodquist ever caucus with persons known to you to be members of the Communist Party?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you continued to caucus with certain members of Local 386 despite your expulsion and since your expulsion?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not a member of the Communist Party at the time of your expulsion from Local 386?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you currently a member of the district executive committee of the Communist Party?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McDonald, yesterday the chairman of this committee in his opening statement called attention to the fact that Gus Hall, the general secretary and top boss of the Communist Party of the United States, paid a visit to Minneapolis some few months ago, February 18 to be exact, and while here he made a public statement, in which he said, in effect, "we" are going to do everything we can to give the Communists of Minnesota assistance, both in the sense of speakers and literature and finance in order to raise the work of the Communist movement to a higher level.

Now, as one of the top leaders in the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party you would certainly be in a position to inform this committee as to whether or not Gus Hall has implemented his promise.

Will you tell us, please, what knowledge you possess as to any assistance that Gus Hall has rendered to the Communist Party in this district since his visit here?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Has the national headquarters rendered you any additional assistance?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. One final question. In the Communist Party case, the Subversive Activities Control Board found, and the court of appeals sustained the finding, that the Communist Party of the United States was a disciplined organization operating in this Nation under Soviet Union control to install a Soviet-style dictatorship in the United States.

To your knowledge, is the Communist Party of the United States a disciplined organization operating in this Nation under Soviet Union control?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. McDonald, if you did not have such knowledge and truthfully said so, how could that possibly incriminate you?

Mr. McDONALD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I have no further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SENNER. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BRUCE. No questions at all.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. No questions.

Mr. ASHBROOK. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

I think the reporter needs a rest so we will recess for a few minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

(McDonald Exhibit No. 2 follows:)

MCDONALD EXHIBIT No. 2

MINUTES OF SPONSORS MEETING
AMERICAN PEACE CRUSADE1702 12th St., N.W., Washington, D. C.
March 15, 1951

PRESENT: A full list of those attending is attached to the minutes.

Dr. Philip Morrison presided. He proposed the following agenda, which was accepted by the meeting:

1. (a) Progress Report on Crusade's Activities
- (b) New Political Developments in the Fight for Peace.
- (c) Program and Preparations for the Pilgrimage

- II. The Ballot Campaign
- III. People's Peace Congress
- IV. Proposals for Organizational Structure of the Crusade.

1. (a) Report by Dr. Morrison.

In mid-December, a group of people interested in peace met at the Hotel Brevoort in New York City and discussed the need for a new peace organization. Out of this discussion came the Statement of Principles and the Proposals for setting up the American Peace Crusade which envisaged three concrete actions to implement this program for peace: (1) a ballot campaign; (2) the peace pilgrimage to Washington; and (3) a People's Peace Congress in the Midwest. Initiated by seven people - Dr. Clementina J. Paolone, Obstetrician and Chairman of American Women for Peace, New York, N. Y., Mr. Ernest DeMaio, Vice-President, United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, Chicago, Ill., Dr. Philip Morrison, Nuclear Physicist, Cornell University, New York., present today, as well as Dr. Lucius C. Porter, Former Professor of Philosophy at Yenching University, China; retired Congregational missionary, Beloit, Wisc., Dr. Linus Pauling, Chairman Dept. of Chemistry, California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, Calif., Dr. W.E.B. DuBois, Historian, Sociologist and Anthropologist, New York, N. Y. and Mr. Charles Howard, Attorney and Publisher and Former Member of Republican State Committee, Des Moines, Iowa - invitations were sent out to a number of prominent Americans. The first public announcement was made on the first of February. To date nearly 300 sponsors have joined in supporting our program and activity. More than 120,000 copies of the Call to this Pilgrimage have been distributed; more than 500,000 copies of the Ballot (including those reproduced locally as well as the more than 300,000 printed nationally) are in circulation; more than 27 city and state committees and councils of the Crusade have been formed; and above all the presence here in Washington of upwards of 2500 delegates indicate our growth.

(b) New Political Developments in the Fight for Peace.

Dr. Morrison indicated his belief that we are not far from some kind of settlement in Korea as a result of the military situation, among other factors. And there is a new development since the launching of the Crusade. This is the insistence among the American people and arising in Europe that there be a settlement within the Big Powers of the differences among them, and that every opportunity be seized upon by the State Department and the Administration to negotiate such differences. The Conference of Deputy Foreign Ministers now being held in Paris must not fail. This is the time to insist that negotiations be continued until agreement is reached. With this in mind, we propose that the following letter (copy attached) be submitted to Secretary Acheson by the delegation which has an appointment with the State Dept. at 1:30. In addition, our program for the next two months should emphasize the urgency of insisting on negotiation as a major issue.

DISCUSSION:

Dr. Paolone indicated her fundamental agreement with Dr. Morrison's position.

The dozens of people she sees every day have a deep desire for peace and insist that somehow war must be averted. Although there is confusion on some political issues, the desire for peace is so real that it should not be difficult for us to win support of our program if we present it simply and directly to the people themselves.

Mr. DeMaio stressed the point that we must not be fooled by the talk about stopping war preparations, and that there might be peace. We want peace, but we will get it only if we continue fighting for it vigorously.

McDONALD EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

Minutes of Sponsors Meeting - 2

The people want peace and to live well; they don't want to die. There must be no letdown in our work for peace.

Mr. Slater: While there is tremendous desire for peace, many people have been affected by anti-Soviet propaganda. In material put out by the Crusade, we should answer some of this propaganda which is being used to sell the idea of an inevitable war.

Lucy Brown: In addition to the points raised by Dr. Morrison, we must raise with the American people the question of the extermination of the Korean people by our military policy in Korea. This is the same policy which was carried out by the Nazis in a different form. The American people are not aware of the extent of this wholesale butchery and destruction of the Korean people by our methods of warfare.

Dr. Morrison interjected with the comment that precisely this point of view was embodied in a statement to be submitted to Gen. Marshall would be presented by the delegation to the Defense Dept. This statement raises the question of the conduct of our war in Korea and our treatment of Negro soldiers in the U.S. Army, with particular reference to the case of Lt. Gilbert as an indication of racist and discriminatory policies.

(The letter to Gen. Marshall is attached)

Jose Carreras: Proof of the popular support for the position taken by the American Peace Crusade is the fact that in recent elections a candidate running on a statewide ticket in California whose program was centered around the peace question identical with that of the Crusade secured nearly 300,000 votes. Also, there has to be a stronger relationship between the peace movement and the fight against the discriminatory treatment of the Negro people in the United States. The California delegation had chartered a special plane which brought 24 delegates, Negro and white, to Washington. The plane had stopped at Memphis where the Negro delegates were refused service in the Jim Crow dining room at the airport. The opportunity was taken to address more than 150 people eating in the dining room. The letter to Secy. Acheson should indicate that the eyes of the Negro people of America and of the colored people of the world are on Washington.

In further discussion, several additional points were proposed. George Flekman of the Fur Workers Union urged that special emphasis be given to opposition to the rearming of Germany.

Ray Irvine of California felt that the wholesale blacklisting of workers in the maritime industries on the west coast in the name of defense should be tackled.

George Pirinsky of the American Slav Congress felt that there should be a special protest on the freeing of the Nazi war criminals.

Prof. Morrison pointed out that many of these points were dealt with and that once we started taking up special issues, there would be no end. On the other hand, if the points were considered sufficiently important, there was still an opportunity to modify the letter to the State Dept. and the other documents.

It was finally decided that the letter to Mr. Acheson should be modified in line with Mr. Carreras's suggestion, and that an additional sentence be put in on the rearming of Germany. In further discussion, Rev. Bill and Mrs. Larson of Michigan indicated that Secy. Acheson's attacks on the Crusade were a direct interference with the right to speak for peace and that there should be some special attention given to this significant point. Further discussion brought out the idea that the delegation to the Defense Dept. on the right to work for peace should deal not only with the indictment of Dr. Robins and the other officers of the Peace Information Center but with all the other aspects of infringements on the right to speak for peace, such as blacklisting of workers in the maritime industry, etc.

(c) Program & Preparations for the Pilgrimage

Mr. Simon reported on the agenda for the Pilgrimage and the fact that the program was being compressed into one day since most of the delegates could not stay over. Copy of the agenda is attached.

MCDONALD EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

Minutes of Sponsors Meeting-3

Mr. Kleinman reported that a number of labor delegates with the Labor Peace Conference had asked for appointments with Charles Wilson, Office of Defense Mobilization, Eric Johnston, Economic Stabilizer, and Mr. DiSalle, Director of Price Stabilization, but were refused. The labor delegates wanted to protest these refusals in the traditional labor manner, by throwing a picket line around these offices.

Douglas Glasgow, Director of the Youth Sponsoring Committee, indicated that similar refusals had been made by the Office of Selective Service and the Defense Dept. whom they wanted to see on the question of the draft and universal military training. In conjunction with some of the women delegates, the youth wanted to protest these refusals by a well-planned vigil outside of the White House or Selective Service offices.

In the discussion that followed, Dr. Morrison indicated that it had been decided that all activities conducted on Thursday would be officially those of the Crusade. He felt that any activities carried on that day by other groups would be picked up by the press who would distort it and use it to smear the Pilgrimage. He felt it would be unwise for the youth and labor delegates to carry out these actions. Dr. Paolone concurred, pointing out that last summer when the American Women for Peace had a delegation to the U.N., a sit-down which had been carried on simultaneously by some youth delegates, had been distorted by the press and overshadowed the activity of the far larger group of women delegates. Rev. Hill also felt this would not be a correct activity.

As a result of the discussion, Mr. Kleinman and Mr. Glasgow would withdraw their proposals, rather than press the matter for a vote. Dr. Morrison suggested that they secure the largest possible delegation and with them insist on seeing the government officials involved. He also suggested that if they were still refused an appointment, that a statement be issued to the press.

11. BALLOT CAMPAIGN

The ballot campaign has been launched and has a wide and successful response. More than 500,000 ballots have been distributed, nationally and locally. Among these are special ballots reproduced by women groups, youth, language groups, labor groups, etc. However, the campaign has not really moved into high gear because of the need for local and national groups to simultaneously tackle the organization of the American Peace Crusade and prepare for the Pilgrimage. After the Pilgrimage the time should be used to most effectively reach out across the country with ballots. In view of the urgency of the issue of negotiation and peaceful settlement which he had referred to in his opening remarks, Dr. Morrison raised the question that this point could be made a part of the campaign by adding it as a question on the ballot. This was agreed upon by the meeting.

111. PEOPLE'S PEACE CONGRESS

The original Statement of Principles envisaged a great People's Congress for Peace to be held in the late spring somewhere in the midwest which would be a constituent assembly or organization for the peace movement. Further discussions have been held upon this. We understand the Chicago Committee of the Peace Crusade, of which Dr. Lovett and Rev. Joseph Evans are co-chairmen, have proposed that it be in Chicago the weekend of June 1, 2 and 3, immediately following the Memorial Day holiday, and that this be not only the usual type of congress but should embody features of cultural activities and features of a peace exposition.

Dr. Noyes, temporary executive director of the Chicago Council of the Peace Crusade, stated that Chicago could not take complete responsibility, but would be willing to act as host for such a congress and that this would be discussed with the Illinois delegation.

Mr. Simon stated that Mr. Glasgow (who had to leave) had indicated that the youth group proposed to hold a youth festival jointly with the congress which would have sports activities, folk dancing and other cultural activities. Dr. Morrison added that it is most important for local groups to feel that talent and suggestions for this program was not only wanted, but was necessary. Mrs. Alice Rubenberg of New York pointed out that in developing such a program the local groups must take responsibility for financing such a tremendous program if it is to be successful.

1V. ORGANIZATIONAL STATUS

Dr. Morrison indicated that until now the initiating sponsors, with the

McDONALD EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

Minutes of Sponsors Meeting-4

help of some of the other sponsors, had taken the major share of responsibility for running the Crusade. For the period until the Congress, we need some type of organizational structure which, on the one hand, would have some degree of authority and responsibility, and on the other, would be flexible, informal, and above all, not give any impression of being a frozen structure. With this in mind, he proposed that there be two provisional co-chairmen and a provisional planning committee of some 25-30 prominent figures. In the interim period, this group together with the co-chairmen, would have the power to enlarge itself by coopting additional members and undertake responsibilities regarding staff, administrative activities, etc. It was proposed that Dr. DuBois and Dr. Robert Morris Lovett be provisional co-chairmen. Dr. Morrison further suggested that pending formal acceptance by the individuals nominated, there be no public announcement.

Unfortunately, Dr. DuBois was out of the country and could not be present at the Pilgrimage. Dr. Lovett stated that he felt this nomination was an honor, particularly at being proposed as a colleague of Dr. DuBois. He indicated that he would be glad to give the matter consideration but could not make a definite commitment at the time.

Proposals for the slate for the planning committee included the following:

Prof. Philip Morrison	Douglas Glasgow	Paul Robeson
Ernest DeWale	Alvin Christman	Rev. Stephen Fritchman
Dr. Clementina J. Paolone	Mrs. Therese Robinson	Fyke Farmer
Dr. Lucius Porter	Mrs. Mary Church Terrell	John Clark
Dr. Linus Pauling	Rev. Joseph Evans	Rep. Packinghouse Workers
Abbott Simon	Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild	Mary Dreier
Bishop Arthur W. Moulton	Bishop Benjamin D. Dagwell	Michael Wood, A.F.L.
Karly Larsen	Hon. Elmer A. Benson	Rev. Freeman of Kans. City
Leo Krzycki	Bishop Cameron C. Alleyne	Dr. F. K. Stamm

DISCUSSION: Mrs. Robinson said she was leaving Washington, D. C. Because of this, and because of her ill health, she did not feel she could serve on the committee, although she would give whatever assistance possible. She proposed Dr. Jernagin.

Mr. Simon pointed out that the list had been prepared with full understanding that some sections, geographic and in terms of area of interest, were not fully represented. For this reason, the proposal was made that the planning committee should enlarge itself. For example, Mr. Glasgow had reported that the youth would like to have more time to decide youth nominees. This was true also with regard to a representative from the south.

In response to criticism on lack of women on the slate, Dr. Morrison proposed Miss Uta Hagen; Mrs. Andrew Simkins and Prof. Louise Pettebone Smith. A representative of the farm groups suggested that several from among the following be added to the committee — Archie Wright, Alvin Christman, Fred Stover or Morris Sloan.

The meeting was adjourned

McDONALD EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

List of Those in Attendance, Sponsors' Meeting, American Peace Crusade
March 15, 1951
1704 R St. N. W. Washington, D.C.

CALIFORNIA

Ralph C. Beals
Youth Committee of Peace Crusade
Los Angeles, Cal.

Jose Corraia
I.P.P., Marine Cooke & Stewards
San Francisco, Cal.

Carl L. Crain
Long Beach Peace Council
Long Beach, Cal.

Jack J. Fleier
Comm. Against Nazification of Germany
Los Angeles, Cal.

Betty Hirschfelder
American Russian Institute Peace Comm.
San Francisco, Cal.

Ray Irvine
I.L.W.U.
San Francisco, Cal.

William Maak
A.F. L. Laborers, Local 261
San Francisco, Cal.

Mrs. V. Myerson
Neighborhood Women for Peace
Los Angeles, Cal.

COLORADO

George Hartridge
Denver, Colo.

C. E. Slater
Denver, Colo.

CONNECTICUT

Rev. Dudley Burr
Congregational Church
East Hartford, Conn.

Dorothy Haven
People's Party
Fall Village, Conn.

Prof. John Marsalka
American Slav Congress
New Haven, Conn.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Frederick A. Blossom
Washington, D. C.

Mrs. Theresa Robinson
Chair, Civil Liberties Comm. Improved
Benevolent & Protective Order of the Elks
of the World, Washington, D. C.

Arthur Stein
Chair, Progressive Party
Washington, D. C.

INDIANA

Mrs. Georgie A. Bradford
East Chicago, Ind.

ILLINOIS

Mrs. Dorothy Rushnell Cole
Chicago, Ill.

Ernest DeMaio, Int'l. V.P. UERMWA
Pres. Dist. Council 11, UERMWA
Chicago, Ill.

Bishop H. M. Hooper
Nazarene Church
Chicago, Ill.

Rev. Massie L. Kennard
Pastor for Youth, Metropolitan Community
Church, Chicago, Ill.

Dr. Henry H. Noyes
Exec. Secy. Chicago Peace Crusade
Chicago, Ill.

Idell Umbles
Chicago Women for Peace, Chicago, Ill.

Prof. Robert Morris Lovett
Former Governmental Secy. of the Virgin
Islands and Co-Chairman of the Chicago
Council of the Crusade
Chicago, Ill.

KANSAS

Rev. E. A. Freeman
Minister, First Baptist Church
Pres. Kansas City N.A.A.C.P.
Kansas City, Kans.

INDIANA

John T. Gojack
Int'l. V.P. UERMWA
Ft. Wayne, Ind.

Fanny Hicks
Gary, Ind.

Ursaline Hill
Gary, Ind.

Lois Mueci
Gary, Ind.

E. Pita
Gary, Ind.

MARYLAND

Dr. Ruth Bleier
Chair, Maryland Comm. for Peace
Baltimore, Md.

McDONALD Exhibit No. 2—Continued

Sponsors - 2

MICHIGAN

Rev. Charles A. Hill
Hartford Ave. Baptist Church
Chair, Michigan Peace Council
Detroit, Mich.

Robert S. Jones
S. Haven, Michigan

Esther Karnon
Detroit Peace Crusade Comm.
Detroit, Mich.

Mrs. Ida Olshansky
Progressive Party
Detroit, Mich.

Mrs. Lenore Piazza
Appleton, Mich.

George Pirinsky, Exec. Dir.
American Slav Congress
New York, N. Y.

Paul Robeson
New York, N. Y.

Hon. Robt. H. Scanlan
Tri-City Civil Liberties Comm.
ALP
Troy, N. Y.

Prof. Philip Morrison
Cornell University
Ithaca, N. Y.

Abbott Simon
New York, N. Y.

Douglas Glasgow
New York, N. Y.

MINNESOTA

Claude McDona ld
Minneapolis, Minn.

MAINE

Mrs. Louise Hunt
Portland, Me.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Irma C. Otto
Center Sandwich, N.H.

NEW MEXICO

Edmund T. Chip
IUM & SW, Local 890
Hurley, N. M.

NEW YORK

Victor Allen
Spencer Cooperative Society
Spencer, N. Y.

Dr. Edward K. Barsky
New York, N. Y.

Lucy Brown,
New York, N. Y.

Prof. Henry Pratt Fairchild
New York, N. Y.

Abe Feinglass
IFLWU, rep. Ben Gold
Chicago, Ill. or N.Y.

George Kleinman
IFLWU
New York, N. Y.

Merrian M. Moore
ALP
Troy, N. Y.

Dr. Clementina J. Paclons
Obstetrician, Chair, American Women for
Peace
New York, N. Y.

OHIO

Irma Bauman
Cleveland Council ASP
Cleveland, Ohio

John Bozeman
UE, Local 707
Cleveland, Ohio

Hugh DeLacy
Former Congressman, Dir. P.P. Ohio
Cleveland, Ohio

Florence Dougher
Cleveland, O.

Fred Haug
Cleveland, O.

Joseph Krea
UE District Council #7
Cleveland, O.

Mrs. Anne B. Morrow
PP
Cleveland, O.

Edward W. Webb
Cleveland, O.

PENNSYLVANIA

Dr. Frederick K. Stamm
Congregational Christian Church (Ret)
Plumstedville, Pa.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Andrew M. Simkins
Republican Party Leader
Columbia, S. C.

WISCONSIN

Sidney Berger
Secy. Wisconsin Council APC
Milwaukee, Wisc.

Elijah Jones
Anti-Segregation Committee
Milwaukee, Wisc.

dpowa

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Mr. NITTLE, call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Martin Mackie.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. MACKIE. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF OSCAR MARTIN MACKIE, ACCOMPANIED BY
COUNSEL, JOHN S. CONNOLLY**

Mr. NITTLE. Will the witness please state his name in full and give his address for the purpose of the record?

Mr. MACKIE. My name is Martin Mackie. I live at 801 Russell Avenue North, Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. How do you spell your name?

Mr. MACKIE. M-a-c-k-i-e.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you also spelled your name M-a-k-i?

Mr. MACKIE. I have.

Mr. NITTLE. Is your full name Oscar Martin Mackie?

Mr. MACKIE. That is right.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. MACKIE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. CONNOLLY. My name is John S. Connolly. I am an attorney at law admitted to practice in Minnesota, and my office is 303 Degree of Honor Building, St. Paul.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Mackie, would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. This is preliminary background information followed in all proceedings, so I direct you to answer the question. In other words, I don't agree with you.

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Mackie, I have before me a photostatic copy of your application for membership in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. In this application it appears that you state your place of birth to be Virginia, Minnesota.

Now, how could it possibly incriminate you to state that you are an American citizen born in the United States?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you making that response to the question, as to the place of your birth, as a result of instructions given to you by the

Communist Party of the United States to make just such a response to each question of this committee?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Boehnke yesterday at which time he testified he knew you to be a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now a member——

The CHAIRMAN. Counsel, excuse me.

We hear and read a great deal about the alleged fact that this committee asks questions without the right of confrontation and all the rest of it. If Mr. Boehnke was called to the stand and resworn and would confront you so you could know exactly who your so-called accuser is, would you answer the question?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Mackie, are you as of this moment a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you first join the Communist Party and what were the circumstances under which you joined?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not a Communist Party candidate for the office of Governor of Minnesota in 1940?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Witness, we are here to determine facts to establish legislation that will protect the security of this Nation. You have been subpoenaed and have been given an offer to appear in a different capacity also, in an executive session. We bend over backwards trying to afford you an opportunity to help this country. Is the reason that you raise the first, the fifth, and the sixth amendment, to prevent this committee trying to find facts that will help us protect this country's security?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, one further question.

Is it not true that the Communist Party, if they are successful, would abolish the first, the fifth, and the sixth amendments to the United States Constitution?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. Would there be any question that this committee propounded to you in any way, both to help you and your reputation, help this committee from a legislative standpoint, that you would answer other than this phrase that you have been reading to us here for the last 5 minutes?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. The Communist *Daily Worker*, the official publication of the Communist Party, in its issue of November 24, 1942, reports you as holding the position of State secretary of the Communist Party in Minnesota at that time. Did you hold that office?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you the Communist Party's candidate in 1941 for the office of mayor of Duluth, Minnesota?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The proceedings of the constitutional convention of the Communist Political Association, a convention of the Communist Party held in 1945, lists Martin Mackie as an alternate member of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association. Are you the Martin Mackie to whom the article refers?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were not Carl Ross and Clarence Sharp both members of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association at the time of your membership on that committee?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, the Communist *Daily Worker* of September 23, 1946, reports that in 1946 you have served as chairman of the Communist Party in Minnesota. Would you tell us when you were appointed to such office and how long you remained in office as chairman of the Communist Party in Minnesota?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Claude McDonald?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights of the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know him to be a member of the Communist Party and a State officer or member of the district executive committee of the Communist Party in the Minnesota-Dakotas District?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at any time during the period 1952 to 1954 while chairman of the district committee of the Communist Party go into hiding at the residence of Claude McDonald at the direction of the Communist Party national headquarters?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights of the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you trying to avoid prosecution under antisubversive statutes at that time, or was there some other purpose for your going into hiding at the home of Claude McDonald?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. During the period 1952 to 1954, did you have occasion to meet Ruth Gordienko and was she introduced to you at that time as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights of the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. From the period 1952 to the present time, have you held any official position in the Communist Party other than as a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us why you were no longer continued in the office of chairman of the Communist Party in the Minnesota-Dakotas District but retained your membership in a cell of the party in Minneapolis?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Mackie, in the opening of the interrogation I made reference to membership in the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America. I want to ask you whether you did not, in fact, on June 22, 1959, make such an application?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. It is inconceivable to me that applying for membership in that fine organization could have any such effect, so I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a photostatic copy of that application, dated June 22, 1959, and signed by one Oscar Martin Mackie. The application is marked for identification as "Mackie Exhibit No. 1."

Did you execute that application, and is that your signature appearing thereon?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

(Document marked "Mackie Exhibit No. 1" follows:)

MACKIE EXHIBIT No. 1

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP IN THE

UNITED BROTHERHOOD OF CARPENTERS AND JOINERS OF AMERICA

[TYPE OR PRINT PLAINLY]

L. U. No. ---- City Minneapolis 1 State Minn.

Name of applicant MACKIE, Oscar M.

LAST NAME FIRST NAME MIDDLE NAME

Address 801 Russell Avenue N., Minneapolis 11, Minn.

Date of birth 5-11-1906 Where born Virginia, Minn.

Date Initiated ----- Amount Initiation Fee Paid 100.00

☐ Apprentice ☒ Beneficial ☐ Honorary

How many years have you worked at the trade? 5

Employed by Ernest Pesis

How is Your General Health? good. Are You Married? yes

Are you afflicted with any ailment which is liable to make you a burden on the United Brotherhood? no

Are you a citizen of the country in which you are now making application for membership? yes

If not a citizen give date and place in which you received your citizenship papers. (Sec. 42, Par. J.)

Date ----- and place of court

Day Month Year

City ----- State or Province -----

Have you ever been a member of the U. B.? no

L. U. No. and date when dropped or expelled -----

Were you ever rejected by any Local Union of the United Brotherhood? no

Do you hold membership in another labor organization? no

Name of such labor organization: -----

Are you a Communist? no

Are you in sympathy with Communistic philosophy? no

Are you willing at all times to comply with and abide by the Laws of the United Brotherhood, District Councils and Local Unions? yes

If it is found at any time that you have made false statements of any kind in this application, are you willing that your membership shall be declared void, and card issued to you annulled, and all money paid by you forfeited? yes

Signature of Applicant: Oscar Martin Mackie

APPLICANT MUST SIGN

Date Signed by Applicant 6-22-59 Social Security No. 471-10-0041

Vouchers: { Hanley Hemmingson L. U. No. 7

{ Carl Achteley L. U. No. 7

We, the Investigating Committee, report ----- favorably on the above application.

ORIGINAL

Investigating Committee.

This Application must be fully completed and sent promptly to the General Office by the Financial Secretary.

Mr. NITTLE. In this application for membership the questions are asked of you, "Are you a Communist?" and "Are you in sympathy with Communistic philosophy?" To both of those questions you answered "No."

Was your application truthful in that respect?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. In this application you list one Hanley Hemmingson as a voucher for your application. Mr. Boehnke yesterday testified that he knew Hanley Hemmingson to be a member of the North Side cell of the Communist Party. Mr. Boehnke testified, of course, that you were also a member of the North Side cell of the Communist Party.

Did you know Hanley Hemmingson as a member of the Communist Party at the time you obtained him as a voucher on your application?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the date of that application?

Mr. NITTLE. June 22, 1959, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, obviously the witness should be asked a direct question.

Were you a member of the Communist Party on the date, hour, and the minute that you signed that application?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you see, sir, counsel has referred to evidence that we all heard, under oath, indicating that on that date you were a member of the Communist Party; at least that is my recollection of

the trend of the testimony. If that be true, you understand, of course, that there is a direct contradiction between what you said in that application and what these witnesses swore to. Now, in view of that I ask you again: Would you care to comment on, explain, retract, say anything, or deny what you said in that application?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me see that application.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit 1 in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be so received and marked.

How are we going to mark it?

Mr. NITTLE. It has been marked as "Mackie Exhibit No. 1."

The CHAIRMAN. All right.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not denied membership in this union because of the false statement in the application relating to the question of Communist Party membership?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now associated with or employed by Carl Ross in a corporation known as the Gopher Bumper Plating, Inc.? ¹ I am referring to the same Carl Ross who allegedly served with you as a member of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association in 1945.

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Since your employment with the Gopher Bumper Plating, Inc., have you discussed any phase of Communist Party activity with Carl Ross?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. To your knowledge is Mr. Ross aware of your membership in the North Side Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. MACKIE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of this witness.

Mr. SENNER. No questions.

Mr. ICHORD. No questions.

Mr. BRUCE. No questions.

¹ Certification from Minnesota Department of State of articles of incorporation and amendment show original name of corporation as Gopher Bumper Plating, Inc., and change, as of Oct. 22, 1962, to Gopher Bumper Exchange, Inc.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. No questions.

Mr. ASHBROOK. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. Call your next witness, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Ruth Gordienko.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I do.

TESTIMONY OF RUTH LOIS GORDIENKO

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Gordienko, would you please state your full name and residence for the record?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Ruth Lois Gordienko, spelled G-o-r-d-i-e-n-k-o. My address is 1901 Oakview—one word—Lane, North Minneapolis, Zone 27.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I was born November 2, 1926, in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you been residing in the city of Minneapolis?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I have resided in Minneapolis all my life with the exception of 1 year that I lived in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, and 3 years' residence in the State of Texas.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the year of your residence in Manitoba, Canada?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. 1950.

Mr. NITTLE. And what were the 3 years of your residence in Texas?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. 1955 to 1958.

Mr. NITTLE. Now would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I attended North High School in North Minneapolis and continued in school through the 11th grade.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you held membership in the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you briefly state the period during which you were a member and where?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I was a member of the Communist Party in the State of Minnesota in 1948 and 1949. I was a member of the Canadian Communist Party throughout the year of 1950.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a bona fide member of the Communist Party during those years 1948, 1949, and 1950?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Absolutely.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you terminate your membership in the Communist Party at the end of 1950?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. At the end of 1950 I had an ideological break with the Communist Party over the Communist Party's viewpoint on our participation in the Korean war, but I did not make a formal break with the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. That is, you never gave any notice to any party official that you were resigning or leaving?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. But you nevertheless made a complete break and ceased activities on behalf of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. And as a bona fide member?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, following your break with the Communist Party, did you later agree to cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation in the investigation of Communist activities in the Minneapolis area?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. During what period did you serve the United States Government in that capacity?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. In the years 1952 through 1954.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee, please, the circumstances leading to your becoming a member of the Communist Party in 1948?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I initially became involved in the Communist movement in the State of Minnesota when I met who is now my former husband, George Gordienko. George was a Communist himself. He taught me that the American Government was "corrupt," "imperialistic." He taught me about communism.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us, first, who George Gordienko was and what he was doing, what his occupation was, where he came from?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. At that time he was a citizen of Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada. He was here in the United States on a work visa. He was engaged in the livelihood as a professional wrestler.

Mr. NITTLE. Was he subsequently a student at the University of Minnesota?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Was he a student at the time you met him?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, he was. I had prior knowledge of George Gordienko because of his work in the professional wrestling field, but I did not meet him until after he became a pre-med student at the University of Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. What year would that be?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. It would be '48, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. And when did you marry?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. We married in '48.

The CHAIRMAN. She was about to relate the circumstances under which she joined.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. George Gordienko taught me that and tried to indoctrinate me—and, of course, he was successful—that our country was "corrupt" and that the Soviet Union was the nation that was going to lead the world in the ultimate goal of communism on a worldwide basis.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he inform you whether or not he was a member of the Communist Party, and, if so, when?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I do not recall, sir, at this time when he told me he was a Communist, but he did tell me he was a member of the party, that he believed in communism.

Mr. NITTLE. But he was a Canadian citizen?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. You stated you married George Gordienko in 1948?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. And were any children born of that union?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. We have a son, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Now tell us how you came to join the Communist Party and what were the circumstances leading up to that?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. George Gordienko took me out to the University of Minnesota where—I would like to make it quite clear that I was not a university student—he took me to the University of Minnesota to the Coffman Memorial Union Hall where we jointly attended the Marxist Socialist Club.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you married then?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, not at the beginning.

We attended the Marxist Socialist Club on the university campus. The club at that time was under the direction of Kenneth Tilsen, a young law student at the University of Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Did he live on the campus area?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. He resided in what we call here in the State of Minnesota and in our city as the Quonset house project, a project that was put up for the veterans of the Second World War. He resided there with his wife, Rachel. It was just a short distance from the actual campus area.

Mr. NITTLE. You stated you attended meetings of the Marxist Socialist Club?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. On the university campus?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. At Coffman Hall?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Could you tell us what was the function or purpose of that organization? Did you ascertain its objectives?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. The purpose of the organization, to my knowledge, was to recruit young people from the campus area into the Communist Party. Its purpose was to carry on, conduct lecture programs, which eventually they hoped would interest some students or young people into looking into communism, hoping to eventually recruit them. To my knowledge, this was a Communist-front organization.

I would like to mention at this point that Kenneth Tilsen, while he was a law student on the University of Minnesota campus, was also known on campus as a Communist Party spokesman for the party of Minnesota. He did not try to hide this affiliation.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Kenneth Tilsen to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know his wife, Rachel Tilsen, to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, we will go into more detail on that later, but for the moment we would like to explore a little more the nature of the Marxist Socialist Club which was operating on the campus of the University of Minnesota at that time. Would you discuss or describe the composition of the rank-and-file membership of the Marxist Socialist Club at the time you were a member of it?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Meetings of the Marxist Socialist Club were ordinarily attended by different numbers of students, 50 to perhaps 100, depending on the subject that was being discussed at that meeting. The people that I saw that attended the Marxist Socialist Club meetings, to my knowledge, which part of it I knew from the beginning and part I learned later, the majority of the people coming to these courses did not comprise the Communist Party members, they were students who were, I am sure, quite eager to learn and be exposed to different diverse ideas.

Mr. NITTLE. So that as a Communist front, which you have already stated it to be, it was composed of Communists and non-Communists; is that right?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. In what way was the Communist leadership of the Marxist Socialist Club able to indoctrinate and recruit? How did they accomplish this?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I recall specifically that they conducted several lectures or courses on the Negro question or the Negro problem in the United States. This is a subject that many young people are interested in. They were very interested back in '48 and apparently they are very interested in it today for the full rights of the Negro people. These courses on the Negro question were to interest the young people. On one occasion Robert Kelly, who was a State labor organizer for the Communist Party, attended the Marxist Socialist Club as a speaker, and I do recall that on one other occasion the agronomy theory was discussed in the classes. Lysenko, sir, was a Russian agronomist.

Mr. NITTLE. You mean to say they used idealist, reformist ideas as a facade to obscure the real Communist Party purpose with respect to that agitational program?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I would say yes, sir. They did not advertise the club to be a Communist-front organization and would use only their club meetings as a method to indoctrinate or recruit.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you continue in attendance at the meetings of the Marxist Socialist Club?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Approximately a year.

Mr. NITTLE. Who recruited you into the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I was recruited into the Communist Party by Kenneth and Rachel Tilsen. I went to their home where they lived just shortly off campus in the Quonset house project and I signed the Communist Party application card in their residence, and they kept the card.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, after your membership application was filed and you joined the Communist Party at the residence of Kenneth and Rachel Tilsen, were you assigned to any Communist cell or club at the university?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I was assigned to the university women's group of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. You were still not a student there?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, sir; I never was a student at the University of Minnesota.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, at the moment we are now referring to, the date of your enlistment, were you then married?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I married George in '48, when I began going to the campus.

The CHAIRMAN. I understand. You said that when you began going to the club you were not. Now, I don't know how long after it was that you say you were enlisted or you joined. Now, when you joined were you still single——

Mrs. GORDIENKO. You mean the Communist Party, sir?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Prior to joining the Communist Party, sir, I married George Gordienko.

Mr. NITTLE. You stated you joined the women's cell.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me.

You say that you joined up in the home of Mr. Tilsen. Do you recall if your husband was with you?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I don't recall, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. You stated that you were assigned to a women's cell. Do you mean to say that the women were segregated from the men in the cells at the university campus at that time?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. In this one club; yes, sir. It was strictly a women's club.

Mr. NITTLE. And composed of what women?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. There were four of us who belonged to the cell. It was Rachel Tilsen, who was the chairwoman of the club herself, Barbara Perry Roehrich, who testified in the SACB in Washington, and myself and one other individual. Her name was Borchardt. Her husband was an agronomy student on the campus.

Mr. NITTLE. What I was particularly interested in ascertaining about the women who were in this cell is: Were they wives of students or other persons connected with the university——

Mrs. GORDIENKO. The three others——

Mr. NITTLE. Or was the cell open to persons other than those connected with the university?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. We were all wives of students.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any knowledge of other cells in existence on the campus at that time?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. To my knowledge, sir, there were approximately four cells in operation on the University of Minnesota campus at the time.

Mr. NITTLE. How did you obtain that knowledge?

Mr. GORDIENKO. By talking to different members of the Communist Party. Being very active on the campus, I ascertained this information.

The CHAIRMAN. Were you asked thus far what, if any, special assignment your cell carried out, or such things?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Our main assignment was to study Marxism-Leninism and to become fully knowledgeable of this. We also distributed party literature, Communist Party literature, at the university Quonset house project. On one occasion Kenneth Tilsen and I did a distribution in the area.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you engage in demonstrations, picketing, mass movements, of any kind?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Not at that time, sir, not as we know it today.

Mr. BRUCE. In the study of Marxism-Leninism, was there any concentration at all on the study of historical and dialectical materialism?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir, there was; although when I joined this club, our studies began on the basic features of Marxism-Leninism. We did study the theory.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I might add, and the "inevitability" of communism in our Nation.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, if I may, I would like to ask this question: Was the study based primarily on education or also on indoctrination?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I would say, sir, that it was a combination of the two, to indoctrinate us and develop us into educated Marxists.

Mr. SENNER. Rather than just the understanding or the education of Leninism or Marxism?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you continue in attendance at meetings of the Marxist Socialist Club after you joined the party and after you were assigned to the women's cell on the campus?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, I did attend some meetings after that.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any instructions, after becoming a member of the cell, to assist in the recruitment or indoctrination of non-Communist students?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, I was not assigned that, sir. We were making efforts, I might add, though, to increase the membership of our club, but I directly was not assigned to recruit new members into the cell.

Mr. NITTLE. Your function was to do what?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. My function was to study Marxism-Leninism.

Mr. NITTLE. Did I understand you to say you were also interested in obtaining new members of the club?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, this was the object of the club proper.

Mr. NITTLE. In the course of your activities there on the campus as a member of the Communist cell, did you become aware of the existence of any faculty cell at the university at that time?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I became aware of the existence of a professional group on the University of Minnesota campus. I learned this from Rose Tillotson Renaud.

Mr. NITTLE. That is the Rose Tillotson Renaud who was identified by Mr. Boehnke yesterday as now the secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party and a top leader in this district?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir. Rose brought over on several—

Mr. NITTLE. By the way, what was the official position of Rose Tillotson Renaud in the Communist Party in 1948 when you knew her?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Rose Tillotson Renaud managed the bookshop for the Communist Party, which was located at that time on lower Hennepin Avenue. I know that she was on the State board of the party. I cannot recall at this time what her definite position was.

Mr. NITTLE. But she was even then a top leader of the Communist Party, is that right?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Regarding the professional cell on the U. of M. campus, Rose Renaud would bring me mailing lists to do for the Civil Rights Congress, et cetera, and on one occasion she told me that there was the

professional cell group on campus. At that time I was quite naive in the ways of the Communist Party. I blurted out to Rose, I said, "Well, that's very nice," I said, "who are they?" And this was my first lecture in Communist Party secrecy and discipline. When I said, "Gee, that's nice, Rose, who are they," first, she told me that you never ask the name of a member of the Communist Party or the cells and that the professional cell groups were highly protected. I was told that they consisted of professors, assistant professors, et cetera, those men in the professional field.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, you knew then, or at least you found out then, that part of the security of the party is not to permit one cell to know too much about another one; is that right?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes.

I also was told, delving a little further into the security angle of the Communist Party operations in our Nation, I was also told in my residence in North Minneapolis on DuPont Avenue by Rose that she was going to take a trip, and I still hadn't learned my lessons well enough, apparently, because I smiled and said, "That's nice, where are you going to go, Rose?" And Rose Tillotson Renaud gave me another lecture. I did have a good teacher, much better than I hoped they had taught me, I am sure.

The CHAIRMAN. What you are now saying has been fortified over the years by our hearing records.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. You mentioned that you were preparing mailings for the Civil Rights Congress for Rose Renaud?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the Civil Rights Congress?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. The Civil Rights Congress is the legal front organizational arm of the Communist Party, mainly to defend its members when they are brought to a court of justice.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you remain in the campus cell, or were you later reassigned to another cell or unit of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. While I was a member of the university women's group on campus, a founding convention or conference was held in the city of Chicago, Illinois, which established the Labor Youth League, which is a Communist front and is now defunct. The Labor Youth League was to take the place of the prior Young Communist League. When the Labor Youth League was established, the Communist Party apparatus in our Twin Cities area reassigned the Communist cell groups, where in the past until the LYL was established the youth were set in their own separate cell groups the party had then a specialized cell of union members and the neighborhood groups, et cetera. When the Labor Youth League was established, the youth of the Communist Party were assimilated into what we called the adult cell groups, and because of this switching I was assigned to the North Side cell of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. And when did this occur?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Approximately 1949, give or take a month.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, upon your assignment to the North Side Club of the Communist Party, where were the meetings held?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. All meetings of the cell group, the women's club on campus was held—

Mr. NITTLE. No; I am referring now to the meetings of your North Side Club, cell, to which you were reassigned.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I beg your pardon, sir. The meetings were held in the residence of Elizabeth Running on Plymouth Avenue North and Freemont North. This was a split bungalow that was shared on the other side by Carl Ross and his family.

Mr. NITTLE. I see. Who was Carl Ross at that time? Is this the same Carl Ross to whom we have referred in testimony or questioning this morning as being in 1945 a member of the National Committee of the Communist Political Association?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. It is the same Carl Ross I have heard referred to.

Mr. NITTLE. And what position in the Communist Party did Carl Ross have at the time you knew him?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. To my knowledge, district secretary.

Mr. NITTLE. What activities were you assigned to in the North Side Club of the Communist Party at that time? Would you just briefly state that?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Would you repeat your question, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. What activities were you assigned to in the North Side Club of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Two major assignments were to work as an organizer to develop the Labor Youth League, expand its membership, and also to infiltrate into the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The Communist Party in Minneapolis wanted to take over the leadership of the NAACP.

Mr. NITTLE. During the period you were active in the party were the Communists successful in seizing leadership of the NAACP in Minneapolis?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I knew that in some areas they had key people, but in the election that came up where we were to pack the meeting and elect Communist officers, some of the Communists did not show up and the plan was inoperable and we did not take over the leadership, for which members of the party were later chastised.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, in addition to your training in Marxist and Leninist doctrine at your Marxist Socialist Club and at your cell meetings, were you sent to any Communist Party training school?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I attended a 1-week school in Mesabi Park near Hibbing, Minnesota, which was sponsored by the Communist Party. It was a 1-week school. We studied what we had studied in our cell groups all the time, the Communist Party, U.S.S.R., Marxism and Leninism. We studied *Value, Price and Profit*, which I believe, was authored by Leontiev.¹

Mr. NITTLE. What was the duration of the instruction at that school for the course you took?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Per day or how long did—

Mr. NITTLE. How long did the course last at the school?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. One week.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you describe the instruction offered at the school?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. The instruction?

¹ Leontiev is a nom de plume for Lev Abramovich, a Russian political economist who did an annotated interpretation of Marx's *Das Kapital*. *Value, Price and Profit* is a section of Leontiev's interpretation.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. We were taught by Robert Kelly, the lecturer, the principles of Marxism, Leninism, et cetera.

Mr. NITTLE. Approximately how many persons were in attendance at the school at the time you were there?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I would say 30 to 40 people who were members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, who were in charge of the school?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. The instructor was Robert Kelly. The entertainment director was Lucy Kelly, the wife of Robert Kelly. And I was assigned the position as principal of the school.

Mr. NITTLE. And what were your functions as principal?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Mostly to maintain order, make sure that the Communist students at the school attended the meetings, and to open the meetings.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain active in the North Side cell of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Until the end of 1949.

Mr. NITTLE. Was your husband assigned to any Communist cell during this period you were active in the North Side Club?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, after some time. He had originally belonged to a cell group on the University of Minnesota campus. It was a student group. He later dropped out of pre-med school and he took a job in Minneapolis in the flour milling industry, and at that time he was transferred from the student group of the Communist Party and reassigned to a trade union cell of the Communist Party. I do know that George was told to sell *Worker* subscriptions to his coworkers and, if nothing else, attempt to get them to read it.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you remain in the North Side cell during the year 1949?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. And what happened toward the end of 1949?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. We learned that the Immigration Department was apparently very interested in having George Gordienko removed or deported back to Canada as an undesirable alien. We discussed this in our home, and George decided that we should leave for Winnipeg. He went to the State office of the Communist Party, told them what the Immigration Department was planning from our knowledge, told them that we were going to move to Canada. The Communist Party objected, telling George he should stay in this area and let the Immigration Department start their case and the party would then have a very good test case in court. George refused on the basis that it made no difference where we resided so long as we were Communists, because the aim internationally, of course, is the same. His position at that time was that he could work as hard for communism in Canada as he could in America; it made no difference whatsoever. He then was given a letter of transfer from Carl Ross, district secretary of the Communist Party for Minnesota and the Dakotas, stating that both George and I were to be accepted in the Winnipeg, in the Communist Party there, as good, trusted, loyal members of the party. This letter we carried with us across the border when we crossed the international border. George Gordienko had it in his suit. When we got to Canada, George brought the letter down to, incidentally, another

Communist by the name of Ross in Winnipeg, whose first name I cannot recall. The letter came from Carl Ross in Minneapolis to a Mr. Ross in Winnipeg.

Mr. NITTLE. So here was a communication between Carl Ross, a top district official of the Communist Party in the United States, addressed directly to a Canadian official of the Communist Party authorizing the transfer and requesting that you and your husband be accepted there as trusted members?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. All right, proceed. Did you and your husband receive an assignment to any Canadian Communist Party cell?

Mr. ICHORD. Now, Mr. Nittle, at that point.

I think, Mrs. Gordienko, you have gotten into a very important field. Do I understand that you were able to transfer from the Communist Party of the United States of America to the Communist Party of Canada merely by a letter of transfer?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. ICHORD. And that letter was written by whom in the Communist Party of the United States of America?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Carl Ross, district secretary of the party for the district here.

Mr. ICHORD. And do you know the name of the person in Canada, the member of the Communist Party, who accepted you into the Communist Party of Canada merely by that letter of transfer?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. The letter was given to a Mr. Ross in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, and on the strength of the letter from Carl Ross we were immediately accepted into the Communist Party in Canada automatically and were assigned to a cell group in Winnipeg.

Mr. ICHORD. I say that is important because I think it shows very clearly that the Communist Party is worldwide, rather than being merely here in the United States of America.

I have one other question, Mrs. Gordienko. I was very interested in your response as to why you joined the Communist Party. As I understand your testimony, you became a member of the Communist Party because of your association with George Gordienko, whom you later married, and also because of some of the things which you were advised that the Communist Party was fighting for, and one of the things that you indicated, or at least inferred, was that you were interested in civil rights. As you know, the Senate of the United States has recently sent, or recently passed and sent back to the House the Civil Rights Bill of 1964. When that bill was up in the House of Representatives, I supported it; I spoke in behalf of the bill and voted for the bill because I have always been interested in the matter of civil rights. It will probably be taken up by the Congress and passed by the House of Representatives, finally passed and sent to the President before July 4. There are many serious constitutional issues involved in that bill, and I am not going to fall out with any Member of Congress who might have voted differently than I did. Personally, I think it is a good bill; it should be passed, and I am confident that it will be passed. I do realize, though, that there are many responsible people in the civil rights movement. There are also some irresponsible people. Definitely, among those irresponsible people would be, in my opinion, members of the Communist Party. Now, have you, during your

membership in the Communist Party, in your association with these people whom you say are Communists, did you later conclude that the Communist Party, rather than being genuinely motivated by a sincere desire to help the cause of civil rights, was motivated by desire to cause racial and class strife?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. It is my opinion that this is true. I know when I was in the Communist Party, Mr. Congressman, that the Communist Party did give great emphasis to what they referred to in their lingo as the Negro question. They referred to the Negro people and the area in our country where they live to be the "black belt." They referred to the Negro people as the advanced section of the American "proletariat" or working class and they did want to recruit these people into the Communist Party.

Now, in all due respect to the Negro people in Minneapolis—and I do have a few personal friends who are Negroes of which I am very proud—in due respect to the Negro people in this area, I can state for a fact that the Negro membership in the Communist Party was extremely small, they wanted no part of it.

Mr. ICHORD. Thank you very much.

Mr. BRUCE. Can I pursue that just a little bit. Is it not true that the greatest failure of the Communist Party from your point of observation, having been a member of the party, was the failure, in spite of the millions of dollars and the great emphasis to recruit masses of Negroes into the Communist Party, did they not consider this a failure themselves?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Sir, I don't feel that I am really qualified to answer that question. I want to be honest in declining to answer that.

Mr. BRUCE. I appreciate that.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I am sure that if they feel they have failed that they shall try again.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you arrive in Canada with this letter of transferral?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. In January of 1950.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you and your husband receive assignments to any Canadian Communist Party cell?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir. We were both assigned to Communist cells. We were in different groups.

Mr. NITTLE. In separate cells, assigned to separate cells, is that it?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, did you engage in cell group activities in Canada?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir; I belonged to the Canadian Communist Party, which is a foreign political party, while I was a member or actually a citizen of my own country, the United States of America. I did participate in my cell group activities in Canada.

Mr. NITTLE. Well, now, how long did you engage in these activities, and if they were terminated, tell us in what manner that occurred?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I attended several cell meetings in Winnipeg, and after we, of course, were assigned to our cell group, after attending a few meetings, George and I were notified by the Manitoba Province Communist Party that we were to become what is commonly known in the circles as sleepers.

Mr. NITTLE. As what?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Sleepers, we were to completely——

Mr. NITTLE. What is meant by that, would you explain?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, Mr. Nittle, I certainly shall. We were to disassociate ourselves with the Communist Party, disassociate ourselves with any members of the party, even on a personal level, that we were to assimilate within society making the complete break with the party.

Mr. NITTLE. That is, only on the surface, not actually?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, supposedly. At the same time that we were told to assimilate within society as common, ordinary people, we were given the assignment to take, be part of, the second-string leadership of the Province of Manitoba which would take over immediately the Communist Party apparatus on an underground basis if the Canadian Government were to remove by legislation or imposition of law, to remove these leaders from their activity as the directors. So George and I then became, on Communist Party orders, the second-string leaders for Manitoba. George was to take over as educational director, and I was to take over doing the office work in handling the party financial reports, et cetera.

The Communist Party in Canada was concerned also with one other problem, and that is the fact that I, an American citizen, as a Communist belonged to a foreign political organization. They felt that my citizenship should have been revoked or would have been revoked under present American laws, and this was another problem that they had.

Mr. NITTLE. How long did you remain in Canada?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I remained in Canada completely through 1950.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you return to Minneapolis from Canada?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. To the best of my recollection, sir, it was February of 1951, January or February.

Mr. NITTLE. What were the circumstances that prompted your return to Minneapolis?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Well, I was residing in Winnipeg, the Korean war, of course, had broken out. The Communist Party line stated that the Americans had started a war of aggression upon other peoples, that we were trying to subjugate the Korean people. My viewpoint was contrary to this. I believe that the American Government had gone into Korea to assist the Koreans in holding onto the freedoms that they had. When I expressed this viewpoint in my home, George Gordienko and I had a bitter ideological battle which ended with the words of George Gordienko, which I shall quote, "You are nothing but a damn capitalist," unquote. I apparently had waved the red, white, and blue a little too strenuously in defending my country in their participation in the Korean war to preserve freedoms for other people. As a result of the ideological break our marriage fell apart. I think it would be wise to avoid personalities in this, but it did result in my returning to my home State and my home city of Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Did your husband ever return to the United States after the separation in 1951?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you finally divorce him?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, prior to your returning to the United States, did you give any notice to the Communist Party either in Canada or elsewhere of the termination of your membership?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. After your return to the United States, did you report to any of the Communist Party officials here?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, sir; I felt it wasn't at all important to me.

Mr. NITTLE. What were the circumstances which led to your resumption of activity in connection with the Communist movement?

The CHAIRMAN. Well, before that question, may I ask a question that has been on my mind in view of what you last said. Mrs. Gordienko, you said initially that you were, well, in answer to a question whether you were a bona fide member, you used the word "absolutely," then you related the cause which prompted you to get out of the party. By "bona fide," then, and your subsequent disassociation, do I understand this to be about the situation, that you were a good-faith, bona fide member all along, to the extent of what you knew, consistent with what you were being told and taught, but then having gone through this experience and the shock of South Korea and learning more perhaps of what the real ideology is, that that is what caused you to revolt? Is that about it?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes. I would like to make it crystal clear to the committee here today that when I said "absolutely I was a bona fide member of the Communist Party," I would like to have it made crystal clear to the committee that I was a Communist with a dedication to the Communist Party, that I became a Communist who looked to the United Soviet Socialist Republic as the model for what we should establish in our Nation. I would further like to point out that prior to the participation of America in the Korean war for the preservation of freedom of other peoples, that I did have some prior reservations that led up to this. This is a very complex question. I am trying to pinpoint it. But as long as you have opened the question up I would like to bring out two more statements.

First of all, the one reservation I had, which I did not voice, was the fact that I came from a good Christian family. Once I got into the Communist Party I fully realized I could not hold Christian ideals upon which our Nation has been founded and the Christian ideals which is the strength of our Nation and become a good Communist. You can't do both. You may hold certain Christian ideals, but they are going to be following the Communist Party line.

The second reservation, Mr. Congressman, that I had was very startling to me. When I was in discussion with Communists in the city of Minneapolis when they discussed how or what would take place in our city when the revolution came, that is, the Communist revolution, I was told that we would blow up the bridges in Minneapolis, we would barricade the streets, the mass communication system would be taken over by the Communist Party. It was assumed by these individuals within the party that the bourgeois, the warmongers, et cetera, were to go to the armory, which is a substantial building here in our area, for protection, and the Communists would surround the armory. Rather than try to enter the armory they would surround it and wait until they got hungry and starved and they would come out. And this is one other reservation

I had, so that by the time the Korean war came along and the Communist Party line immediately followed that we were the aggressor, I had already had, to put it in a very earthy type of language, sir, I had already had enough. For this type of politics my stomach was weak.

Mr. ICHORD. I would like to know from whom she heard talk in those terms about revolution by force and violence.

This is the point I am making, Mrs. Gordienko: In America we have a constitutional form of democracy. We can hold any political beliefs that we want to hold. A person has a right to be a socialist, he even has a right to be an anarchist, but when he becomes a member of the party or when he gets to the point where he is advocating the overthrow of this Government, which we can change by political means at any time, then he has gone too far. Whom did you hear while you were a member of the Communist Party make such statements as that, overthrow of our Government by force and arms?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. One moment, please.

(Witness conferred with chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Information comes to me, as chairman, that an answer to this question at this time would involve persons not heretofore named and, therefore, who have had no opportunity to be notified to refute it, and I must say for the record also that there are many reasons for the situation being what it is.

Mr. ICHORD. I understand the rule, Mr. Chairman. I understand why the witness did not answer that question under the rules. But I do want this witness called into executive session where I will have the opportunity to ask that question.

The CHAIRMAN. That definitely will be accorded.

I have a long-distance call that I must accept. We will stand in recess for just a few minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Counselor.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Gordienko, what were the circumstances which led to your resumption of activity in connection with the Communist movement after your return from Canada, but this time on behalf of the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Knowledge became available to me that George Gordienko was trying to secure a work visa to come to the United States to resume his career as a professional wrestler.

The CHAIRMAN. Pardon me at that point.

How far did he pursue his pre-med or medical studies?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. To the best of my recollection, Mr. Congressman, approximately a year. He left the pre-med studies because he wanted to devote his time to the Communist Party. It was not an academic failure on his part, to give him due justice.

The CHAIRMAN. But he did not complete his medical course?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Right.

The CHAIRMAN. He did not?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Right.

Mr. BRUCE. Did he wrestle under the name Gordienko?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, under George Gordienko.

The CHAIRMAN. I am sorry I interrupted you.

I forgot what the question was.

Mr. NITTLE. The question, Mr. Chairman, was a request of the witness to relate the circumstances of her resumption in Communist activity upon her return.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. During the year of 1951, as I believe I already have stated, I was completely inactive in the Communist movement. I learned that George Gordineko was attempting to get a work visa to return to the United States to engage in professional wrestling once again. I was concerned enough to ascertain whether or not he would be allowed to reenter the country, because I have a son by marriage, and I was a typical mother when it comes down to the facts and I was concerned for Peter if his father should return.

If you would excuse me, I don't want to go into great detail of how this happened, but I did have a conversation in regard to this with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. I thought to myself, well, now, where can I go to ascertain whether or not George would actually be allowed to reenter this country, and I called the Bureau on the phone and asked them the question, and after a period of time I began working against the party.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, did you make any direct contact with Communist Party officials thereafter with a view toward resuming your membership in the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you join any Communist cell or pay any dues to the party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the nature of your activities then on behalf of the Government?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I began working in the Communist-front groups in the Twin Cities area. One was the American Peace Crusade, the Freedom of the Press Committee, to some degree, and also the Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born.

Mr. NITTLE. Was there a Minneapolis chapter, then, of the American Peace Crusade?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir; I was on the board of it.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose and objective of the American Peace Crusade?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. To protest our American part in the Korean war. When the Korean war was over, our line in our American Peace Crusade was to then turn the attention of the public to Indochina and Vietnam. I was told by a party official that we had success in the Korean war propaganda tactics.

Mr. NITTLE. That is the Communist Party did have success?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, the Communist Party did have some success in this and they must now turn their attention to Indochina and Vietnam.

Mr. NITTLE. What success did they have to which you refer?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. They did not explain this fully, but, of course, a great deal, if you recall back in the times of the Korean war, there was a great sentiment against the war as it progressed. The Communist Party felt they had a victory.

Mr. NITTLE. How did the American Peace Crusade go about disseminating its propaganda in relation to the Korean war or American participation there?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I was on the board of the American Peace Crusade and in our agitational propaganda type of work we put out a newsletter speaking of peace, et cetera. We cut the stencils, mimeographed, used the stationery facilities of United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, if I recall the title correctly.

Mr. NITTLE. That was the union which had been expelled from the CIO as Communist dominated—

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. —and of which we had occasion to speak in the interrogation of Mr. McDonald?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes.

When we went to the union office to prepare our newsletter, we had a key to the office where we had access to it, we would go there in the evening and complete the entire job. We sent out approximately, perhaps, to the best of my recollection at this time, shortly under 1,000 newsletters per month in this area and some into the Dakotas.

Mr. NITTLE. And what—

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I—

Mr. NITTLE. Pardon me, go ahead.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. If I may indulge here to add one point. While I was on the board of the Peace Crusade, on the board to put out the monthly newsletter, I wrote an article regarding the issue of peace and war that was confronting our Nation and the world. When I wrote the article and returned it to another member of the board, I was told that my viewpoint in my article was pro-American. My article was rejected with the statement that I should take the article back home and reslant my article to a pro-Soviet sympathy, which I did. I took it home, completely rewrote it, slanted it to the Soviets, brought it back, and it was submitted with the explanation that "this is a schoolteacher's dream."

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Gordienko, may I ask you a question at this point. The Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, in Senate Document 117 published April 23, 1956, said this, and I quote:

As part of Soviet psychological warfare against the United States, Communist fronts seek to paralyze America's will to resist Communist aggression by idealizing Russia's aims and methods, discrediting the United States, spreading defeatism and demoralization * * *—

and that—

specializing in this field * * * have been such organizations as the American Peace Crusade.

In your experience with this organization, did you find this to be true?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I find that is a very fitting explanation of the American Peace Crusade as I knew it, very fitting.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Gordienko, before we conclude your interrogation by the staff, I would like to note that in the course of his testimony, Mr. Boehnke, the prior witness, had occasion to identify certain persons as members of the Communist Party. I would like to ask you certain questions with respect to some of them of which you may have knowledge.

Did you, during the course of your association with the Communist Party, have occasion to know James A. Brown as a member of the

Communist Party? Mr. Brown was identified by Mr. Boehnke as a member of the city committee of the Communist Party.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. On one occasion I met James or Jack Brown in the residence of Samuel K. Davis at Sixth and Newton Avenue, North. I can't recall if this was the first time I met him, but I did meet him there at a social function. He is an auto repairman. He had at that time a little garage of his own, and I brought my car over to have it fixed. During the course of our conversations he did relate to me personally that he was a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. At this point, Counsel, may I suggest a question.

Was the article to which you referred printed by the American Peace Crusade and, if it was not, do you know why it was not?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Mr. Congressman, the article that I wrote, my slanted version to the pro-Soviet way of thinking, was submitted to the board to which I belonged, and it was printed then in the little paper that we put out.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Dr. Cleveland Cradle to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir. I met Dr. Cradle through the Meridel LeSueur family. Deborah LeSueur sent Dr. Cradle to my residence; Dr. Cradle was sent to my home by Deborah LeSueur. I saw Dr. Cradle at the Freedom of the Press annual picnic in Hastings, Minnesota. It would be in the '52 to '54 period, I am not sure of the exact date. I had prior conversations with Dr. Cleveland Cradle, who told me personally that he was a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Archie L. Anderson to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us how you acquired that knowledge?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. While I was a member of my first cell group of the Communist Party, that is, the university campus women's group, I was assigned to attend a local conference of the Communist Party. At this conference—it was a closed-door conference—there was no press allowed, no outsiders whatsoever, all those were definitely assigned from their Communist cell groups to the conference. I attended this conference, and Archie Anderson was in attendance at the conference.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Samuel K. Davis to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir. Samuel K. Davis has been active in the Communist movement for quite an extended period of time and he belonged to the North Side Club of the Communist Party, to which I belonged.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, and he was identified by Mr. Boehnke as being secretary of the North Side Club during the period of his membership in the party.

Did you know Ellen Davis to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us who she was and how you established that identification?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Ellen Davis is the wife of Samuel K. Davis. I referred previously to a trip that Rose Tillotson Renaud was going to take. When I asked her where she was going and I got another party

disciplinary talk, Rose was going to make a trip at a time that some of the 11 indicted Communist leaders were on trial in Judge Medina's court. A fundraising affair was in the hopper in Minneapolis, and Rose came and asked me if I would take over the organizing, the top organizing, for this dinner to raise finances for the 11 Communists in Medina's court, and I called upon women of the Communist Party, on Rose Renaud's instructions, to set up the subcommittees. Ellen Davis was on the subcommittee.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Rose Pogen LeBelle also on the list which was furnished you by Rose Renaud?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes. I called upon Rose Pogen LeBelle to assign her the position of taking care of the nursery for the young children during the dinner, and I recall this very specifically because she did not perform her duties as she should have. This is the only part of the dinner or the affair that fell down in any way. And I might add that the party at that time on the 1-day dinner raised approximately \$1,500 for defense of members of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. How many were in attendance at the dinner?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Approximately 300.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Martin Mackie to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Martin Mackie, to my knowledge, belonged to the State board of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have occasion to see him at any time at the home of Claude McDonald?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I went to the residence of Claude McDonald; I went in the company of a man who himself had identified himself to me to be a member of the party. I am not going to mention his name because of the prior problem that was involved in the naming of another individual.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us, first, what period was this?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. During the period of '52 to '54 when I was working for the Federal Bureau of Investigation. As this individual and I approached the front door, and he either rapped on the door or rang the doorbell, I can't recall which, but it seemed as though he was using a code system in approaching the door, and I instinctively stepped behind him—he was taller and a little broader shouldered than I was—and the individual came to the door, saw the party whose name I feel I cannot mention here at this time, and opened the door; and when I walked in behind this individual, they were very upset, and Martin Mackie was in the home. It was a very poignant meeting as far as my own feelings were concerned. Martin Mackie is an individual in society, he has always been a very strong character, and it was quite a revelation to me to see the condition that Martin had broken down to. As I came into the living room the kitchen lights were on and so was the room preceding it, which I think was a dining room, but the last two rooms were in darkness; and after a period of time Martin appeared from out of the darkness, and his general attitude and his general behavior was that of a hunted individual, and I feel it was very poignant.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Margaret Ross during the period of your association with the Communist movement?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What did you know about her?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I knew Margaret Ross, the wife of Carl Ross, to be a member of the Communist Party. She at one time made a joke that although she was a little older than many of us younger Communists were at that time, that was 10 years ago, that she was still assigned to the youth section of the Communist Party, had not reached the age where she could go into the adult groups, and this was from the—this was a conversation from Marge Ross herself.

Mr. NITTLE. During what period did you know her, and when did this conversation take place?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I have known Marge Ross since 1948 activities and through to 1954 when I was working for my country. I don't recall where this took place. It was very vivid in my mind as far as the speaking but I cannot place the location.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

Mr. SENNER. I would like to ask you this question. You stated that you know Kenneth Tilsen, is that correct?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes.

Mr. SENNER. And Rachel Tilsen?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes.

Mr. SENNER. How many times have you met them?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Well, I went to the residence of Rachel Tilsen to go to my Communist cell meetings and we held them approximately twice a month. All meetings were in the residence of the Tilsen family. And over a year's period of time, 2 times 12 is 24 meetings. I visited at their home also on personal occasions.

Mr. SENNER. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Chairman, I have one or two questions.

Was it in the Tilsen home that you said you signed up with the Communist Party to become a member?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, sir.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. And at that time you said you signed your application for membership, were you issued an identification card or a membership card in the Communist Party?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I was not able to retain a copy of the application form. The card that I filled out was kept by the Tilsens, Kenneth and Rachel Tilsen.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. In other words, you never had a card that you carried as an identification?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No, sir; I was not a card-carrying Communist.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Did they issue one up in Canada?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. No.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. That is all.

Mr. BRUCE. Was that not the typical operation of the party beginning slightly before that time, that you did not carry a card?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Yes, they had made a great switch from the period of the 1930's up until the early '40s and made a switch.

Mr. BRUCE. They had determined that carrying a card was a little too dangerous?

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I would presume that this would be their way of rationalizing.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Mrs. Gordienko, before you leave the witness stand, I would like to extend to you the appreciation of myself and of the subcommittee for your valuable and obviously sincere and truthful and extensive testimony. It is not easy to admit publicly that you have been wrong; that you associated yourself with an organization which you did not realize at the time—I appreciate the fact completely—was not only un-American but anti-American. I admire you for your humility in admitting your past mistake, for your sincerity in having done what you could do to make amends, for your clearheadedness in seeing that this was the thing to do, and, most of all, for your courage in doing it, because I know, as every person ought to know, that it was not an easy thing to do.

There are, according to reliable statistics, hundreds of thousands of ex-Communists in this country. Only a relative handful have had all the qualities to do what you have done during the years since you left the Communist Party. You were young when you joined the party movement, you were emotionally involved. Yet when a showdown came, when the issues were clearcut, when it was your country or communism, you did not hesitate in making your choice, and you made your choice even though it meant leaving your husband and the breach of your marriage.

The Communists, of course, have not forgiven you for leaving the party; they never will. This, perhaps, is the essential difference between the Communists and our own way of life. In communism there is only hatred and vengeance. You and all of us know what there is in the American way of life.

Again, Mrs. Gordienko, I salute you. I think you are a very remarkable woman, and we all appreciate very deeply the contribution you have made to this committee, to the Congress, and to your country.

Before you leave the stand, I have to make another statement.

Regarding the question propounded to you by Congressman Ichord a moment ago, which for reasons I indicated you could not and should not answer, let me say this: Rule XI, sec. 26(m) of the House reads as follows:

If the Committee determines that evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, it shall—

- (1) receive such evidence or testimony in executive session;
- (2) afford such person an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness; and
- (3) receive and dispose of requests from such person to subpoena additional witnesses.

Now, the committee, during the last recess, determined that, of course, for you to testify under oath as to what we have a pretty good idea you were about to answer, that this would tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate the person or persons involved. Having done that, then it is our obligation under the rule, first, to receive that testimony of yours in executive session. After having done that, to afford the person or persons you will testify about under oath an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness, not under a summons, not an order, not a subpoena—give them an opportunity voluntarily to appear in executive session. To do what? To be told by us substantially what your testimony will be, and given an opportunity voluntarily, openly—under oath, too—to deny, affirm, comment on, question, refute, anything he wants to do, openly, voluntarily, under oath. And if accept-

ing that opportunity voluntarily to appear, he would challenge what you had to say under oath and he would have persons he had in mind who would support his challenge and his refutation and denial, then the third step would have to be taken. We would have to receive and dispose of, in our own way, whether such persons should be subpoenaed as witnesses.

Now, the situation is this: We have made the determination we will, before leaving Minneapolis, Minnesota, take your sworn statement in executive session here. Then, of course, the person or persons involved will have to be afforded an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness, again in executive session. Now, whether that can be accomplished, the second step or the third step, before we leave here, I don't know, but the rule will be followed.

Mr. Ichord, I am carrying out my statement to you without consultation. I took it upon myself awhile ago to say I would, and now it has been determined that it shall.

Mr. ICHORD. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I know that the Chair, since he has been chairman of this committee, has always been zealous to protect the constitutional rights of every witness called before this committee, and I certainly want those rules adhered to myself. But I understand that Mrs. Gordienko will be called into executive session while we are here in Minneapolis, will she not?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

So, Mrs. Gordienko, could I admonish you I will do the best I can to hear you as soon as we can, you are still under subpoena. I must say that as a piece of legalism. So bear with us, and we could meet today or it might have to be tomorrow.

Again, thank you very much.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. Congressman Willis, would you permit me to make a few closing statements?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. I will make them under 2 minutes, I hope.

The CHAIRMAN. We have a 5-minute rule in the House, so try to make it even shorter so we can go to lunch.

Mrs. GORDIENKO. As I have previously stated under oath, when I became a Communist I was dedicated to communism. I was dedicated not to the United States of America, but I was dedicated to the United Soviet Socialist Republic. When I realized the error of my mistake my attitude since then has been, if I could do this much for Russia, I certainly can do this much for my own country.

You have made a reference, sir, to courage, to which I would like to add, I hope we never see the day come to America where common integrity is called courage. And I do appreciate, Mr. Congressman, your expression of appreciation.

Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will stand in recess until 2:30 p.m.

(Whereupon at 1 p.m., Friday, June 25, 1964, the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at 2:30 p.m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1964

(The subcommittee reconvened at 2:30 p.m., Hon. Edwin E. Willis, chairman, presiding).

(Members present: Representatives Willis, Ichord, Senner, Bruce, and Schadeberg, of the subcommittee, and also Representative Ashbrook.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Kenneth Tilsen.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TILSEN. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF KENNETH E. TILSEN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
HAROLD D. FIELD, JR.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you kindly state your full name and address for the record?

Mr. TILSEN. Kenneth E. Tilsen, 1653 South Victoria Road, St. Paul 18, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Tilsen?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address.

Mr. FIELD. My name is Harold D. Field, Jr. I am with the law firm of Leonard, Street and Deinard, 818 Farmers & Mechanics Bank Building, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the date and place of your birth, Mr. Tilsen?

Mr. TILSEN. November 4, 1927. I was born in New Leipzig, North Dakota.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you resided in the city of Minneapolis?

Mr. TILSEN. I do not reside in the city of Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. St. Paul, rather.

Mr. TILSEN. Actually, my address is St. Paul, I reside in the village of Mendota Heights.

Is the question how long have I resided in this general community?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. TILSEN. Since 1933.

Mr. NITTLE. Now would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. TILSEN. I am a graduate of high school and of the University of Minnesota Law School.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date of your graduation from high school?

Mr. TILSEN. It was in the spring or June of 1945.

Mr. NITTLE. What were your years of attendance at the University of Minnesota Law School?

Mr. TILSEN. I attended the University of Minnesota Law School from October 1, 1946, to December 21, 1950.

I assume these questions are preliminary?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, they are.

Mr. TILSEN. Thank you.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation for the record, please?

Mr. TILSEN. I am an attorney.

Mr. NITTLE. And to what bars are you admitted to practice?

Mr. TILSEN. I am admitted to practice before the State and Federal courts and before the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. NITTLE. When were you admitted to the bar of the State of Minnesota?

Mr. TILSEN. January 5, 1951.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, were you in attendance in the hearing room yesterday and today?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. And did you hear the testimony of the prior witnesses, particularly the testimony of Mrs. Ruth Gordienko?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Gordienko has informed the committee that during the year 1948 she attended meetings of the Marxist Socialist Club with her husband, George Gordienko, at Coffman Memorial Hall on the campus of the University of Minnesota. She further stated that while attending these classes she made your acquaintance.

Did you know Mrs. Gordienko during that period?

Mr. TILSEN. I cannot conceive that the question asked can be reasonably connected to the subject matter of this hearing or to the need, or that this committee has any need, to know the answer to that question in connection with a legislative inquiry.

In that connection I have prepared a statement as to why I will not answer that question and would like permission to give to counsel and the chairman of the committee a copy of that statement and to read it. It is very brief.

The CHAIRMAN. You may read it. I hope it is brief.

Mr. TILSEN. I was born on November 4, 1927, in New Leipzig, North Dakota. Since approximately 1933 my family has lived in St. Paul, Minnesota. In May of 1945, while still in high school, at the age of 17 and just before completing my senior year, I enlisted in the United States Navy. I completed high school and shortly thereafter was called into active duty in the U.S. Navy.

The war ended, and I was discharged from active duty in the fall of 1946. Immediately upon my discharge, I enrolled at the University of Minnesota. I remained enrolled continuously thereafter, including all summer sessions, until my graduation from the law school at the university in December of 1950.

Between October 1, 1946, and December 21, 1950, I completed both my undergraduate and graduate work at the university, was granted a degree of bachelor of science in law on June 11, 1949, and a degree of bachelor of laws on December 21, 1950.

While at the university I was married, and my wife gave birth to the first two of our five children. I was continuously employed while at the university and for approximately the last 2 years I worked between 40 and 50 hours a week on the dock of a trucking firm near the campus of the university.

On January 5, 1951, I was sworn in before the Supreme Court of the State of Minnesota and admitted to practice law in the State of Minnesota. I have been actively engaged full time in such practice ever since.

After being served with a subpoena by this committee, I requested of the committee that it furnish information as to the subject to be under inquiry at these hearings. The only information I have received, namely, the committee's resolution of May 27, 1964, states that the committee is interested in appraising the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of Title I of the Internal Security Act of 1950, and, in addition, is interested in information relative to the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. Both of these laws were enacted on September 23, 1950.

On the basis of the May 27, 1964, resolution, I have made what preparation I could, and I am prepared to answer to the best of my ability any questions the committee may put to me pertinent to the subject under inquiry. In doing so, however, I wish to state that I cannot accept as pertinent to the subject under inquiry any matter predating September 23, 1950.

I will answer all questions put to me pertinent to the subject under inquiry subsequent to September 23, 1950. It does happen that the enactment of the statutes referred to in the committee resolution coincides with the period of time when I physically removed myself and my family from the campus of the University of Minnesota to St. Paul and when I commenced the practice of law.

I have not lightly or easily reached the conclusion to refuse to answer any questions prior to this period. I recognized it to be my duty, as a citizen and especially as a lawyer, to cooperate with the Congress in its efforts to obtain the facts needed for intelligent legislative action. On the other hand, I firmly believe that the first amendment freedoms of speech, press, religion or political belief and association must be respected in a congressional investigation. Particularly pertinent is Chief Justice Warren's warning in the Watkins case, arising out of proceedings before this same committee, that, and I quote:

Remoteness of subject can be aggravated by a probe for a depth of detail even farther removed from any basis of legislative action. A third dimension is added when the investigators turn their attention to the past to collect minutiae on remote topics, on the hypothesis that the past may reflect upon the present.

I therefore believe that an inquiry reaching back into my college days some 14 years ago could not and would not be pertinent either to the subject under inquiry or, indeed, to any valid legislative purpose.

The CHAIRMAN. Now what was the question, Counsel?

Mr. NITTLE. The question related to the testimony of Mrs. Ruth Gordienko, with respect to her attendance at Marxist Socialist Club meetings at the University of Minnesota during the year or period 1948, and whether he at that time knew Mrs. Gordienko.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Tilsen, you have raised certain objections to answering that question and apparently rely on a copy of the resolution of the full committee, adopted May 27, authorizing these hearings. Although it is in the record, I will reread that resolution because apparently that is the basis of your refusal, the limitation of the resolution.

The resolution already in the record reads:

BE IT RESOLVED, That hearings be held by the Committee on Un-American Activities or a subcommittee thereof, at such times and places that the Chairman may determine, and that the staff be authorized to conduct investigations deemed reasonably necessary in preparation therefor, relating to:

1. As concerns the Minneapolis, Minnesota, area and the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party of the United States: the structure and orga-

nization of the Communist Party of the United States: its major objectives, and the strategic and tactical methods designed to aid in accomplishing such objectives; the major areas of Communist Party concentration; organizations created and controlled by the Communist Party to advance the policies and objectives of the Communist movement; Communist propaganda activities conducted in support of such objectives; and conspiratorial activities in aid of, and in association with foreign Communist governments for the following legislative purposes:

(a) to provide factual information to aid the Congress in the proposal of any necessary remedial legislation in fulfillment of the directions contained in the mandate to the committee by House Resolution 5, of January 9, 1963, Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress;

(b) to assist the Congress in appraising the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of Title I of the Internal Security Act of 1950;

(c) to provide factual information to aid the House in the disposition of presently pending and proposed legislation, including, but not limited to, H.R. 953, a bill to amend the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 so as to authorize the Federal Government to bar from access to defense facilities individuals who may engage in sabotage, espionage, or other subversive acts;

(d) consideration of the advisability of amending the Internal Security Act so as to impose certain disabilities, in the manner and form therein provided upon those persons affiliated with Communist organizations as well as upon persons who are members thereof.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED That the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

That is the resolution. Now, the resolution is legalistic and all that, but you of all witnesses appearing before the committee are qualified to judge its import and its full coverage. Now, you have made a statement, which we cheerfully receive, but not only because you are a member of the bar—we would do the same thing for any lay witnesses—in which you outlined your early life, your service in the armed services, your attendance at college, your struggle to obtain an education, all of which is very laudable, as many of us have had to do the same thing to obtain our education and to serve our own country.

The basis of your objection to testifying is, and I am ruling from a mere hearing of what you said, limited, really, to a very minuscule portion of the purpose of this hearing, namely, Item (b) of the resolution, to assist the Congress in appraising the execution by the administrative agencies concerned with Title I of the [Internal] Security Act of 1950. In other words, you object to everything connected with the jurisdiction of this committee before the [Internal] Security Act of 1950 and imply, therefore, that the only reason why this committee is here is to inquire into the Internal Security Act. And it would be nice, of course, from your point of view, if this were true, that that is the only reason why we are here; but it isn't, and the resolution speaks for itself, and you of all witnesses, as a lawyer, must realize it. Probably I am using more words in ruling than I ever have before, because you are an attorney, you can understand what I am talking about, that your refusal to disclose whether you knew Mrs. Gordienko is completely unfounded and so it is not acceptable and not valid and, therefore, I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. TILSEN. Before I respond to the question pending, could I have a statement by the chairman as to why he believes the question asked is pertinent to the subject under inquiry?

The CHAIRMAN. You have been identified—you heard the testimony, according to your previous answer—as having been a member of the Communist Party, as having been the spokesman, in the words of

Mrs. Gordienko, of the Communist Party on the campus of the university; that you didn't hide that fact; that you were connected with—in what capacity is unimportant—actively with the club having to do with Marxist-Socialist ideology; that you recruited Mrs. Gordienko in the party, which is part of the area authorized by this resolution of this committee. Now having been so identified under oath, you are given an opportunity now to confirm or deny, and then from your own lips I suppose will follow questions, well, what someone says you were then, can it be brought up to date, are you still now? So I say, on the basis of the resolution which I have just read and on the basis of a summation of the testimony you have asked a question as to pertinency, going far afield in covering it, I consider the question to be very pertinent and that is why I have ordered, and now order, you to answer the question.

Mr. TILSEN. I respectfully refuse to answer that question on each of the following grounds:

1. There has not been a meaningful explanation describing either what the topic under inquiry is or the connective reasoning whereby the precise question asked relates to the topic under inquiry, nor has there been a disclosure of the specific legislative need for an answer to the question.

2. The authorization of this subcommittee does not extend to events prior to September 23, 1950, and the effective date of the Internal Security Act of 1950 and the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950 referred to in the resolution of May 27, 1964, authorizing the present hearings.

3. Insofar as it calls for an answer prior to September 23, 1950, at which time I was 22 years old, the question is not pertinent to the subject here under inquiry.

4. Insofar as the subcommittee seeks information prior to September 23, 1950, the subcommittee is not pursuing a valid legislative purpose.

5. Compelling an answer to the question would abridge freedom of speech and association in contravention of the first amendment.

6. The questioning is being conducted in violation of House Rule 11, 26(m), in that my request to be heard in executive session rather than in public session has not been granted.

7. The questioning is being conducted in violation of Rule XVI of this committee in that my name and the fact that I was under subpoena were made public prior to the date of my appearance here.

8. Article I, section 9, clause 3, of the Constitution of the United States prohibits this committee from requiring me to answer that question at this hearing.

The CHAIRMAN. Which is that?

Mr. TILSEN. That is the clause that reads, "No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed."

9. Rule XI of Public Law 601 of the 79th Congress governing this committee is so broad and so vague that it violates both the first amendment and the due process clause of the fifth amendment.

10. If the claimed basis for the pertinency of the question relates to some subject of inquiry not mentioned in the committee resolution of May 27, 1964, I have been deprived of an adequate opportunity to prepare for the hearing and the subcommittee does not have authority to question me about such subject of inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. I have been trying to make a summary of your objections. Let me ask you this simple question: Does it include the invocation of the fifth amendment?

Mr. TILSEN. The due process clause of the fifth amendment, yes. The privilege against self-incrimination, to which I assume the chairman is inquiring, no.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now we know roughly where we stand.

You say in this objection or refusal to answer the question that we are engaging in matters prior to 1950, the date of the Subversive Activities Control Act, and so on, to which I have already addressed myself, which I consider completely inappropriate and without merit.

Now, you refer in No. 6—since you raise it we might as well put it on the table, I didn't raise it—you say, in No. 6, the questioning is being conducted in violation of House Rule XI, 26(m), in that your request to be heard in executive session rather than in public session has not been granted.

Now, you of all persons, you and your attorney here, know that that is not true. You know that you appeared—were given an opportunity to appear, and did appear, with your attorney yesterday morning at 9 o'clock in a separate room—and you were given an opportunity of voluntarily appearing and you received a copy of this letter: "Pursuant to House Rule XI, 26(m)"—and this letter was addressed to you many days before this hearing commenced—"the Committee on Un-American Activities has received certain testimony in executive session." That would be the testimony of Mrs. Gordienko. "In the course of this testimony," now revealed of Mrs. Gordienko, "a person by the name of" your name, "a resident of" this area, "was identified as having been a member of the Communist Party.

"A subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities will meet at 9 [o'clock] a.m. on June 24, 1964, in the city of Minneapolis, Minnesota, in Courtroom [No.] 2 (Sixth Floor), U.S. Courthouse, 110 South Fourth Street," and this is not the room referred to. "At that time, if you so desire, you will be afforded an opportunity voluntarily to appear as a witness. At the same time, the subcommittee will receive and dispose of any request made by you to subpoena additional witnesses.

"This is not a subpoena or summons requiring you to appear. However, if you desire to avail yourself of this opportunity, you should so advise the Director of the Committee not later than Friday, June 19, 1964. He may be reached at Room 226, Cannon House Office Building, Washington 25, D.C., telephone number: Capitol 4-3121, extension 3051. Very truly yours," signed by myself, plus this addition to your letter—

Mr. SENNER. What was the date of the letter?

Mr. ICHORD. I think that should be in the record, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. June 10, 1964.

The CHAIRMAN. —"The privilege hereinabove given does not release you from the compulsion to appear at the hearing pursuant to the subpoena already served upon you."

In other words, you were subpoenaed to be here today in open session, but then, consistent with the rule that you now are trying to invoke, you were given an opportunity voluntarily to appear—after having been warned that somebody had named you—in another room, to preserve anonymity and your reputation and to refute, deny, explain,

question, do anything you please, voluntarily on your own without compulsion.

You appeared with your attorney and you said the rule had no application and you desired the right to present additional grounds beyond that rule why you should be heard in executive session. I granted you and your lawyer that privilege, in addition to your voluntary opportunity to say what you pleased. And if you had—if you had testified voluntarily, if you had offered sincere testimony questioning what you subsequently heard Mrs. Gordienko to have said, I even told you in that executive session that the chances were you wouldn't have to appear in a public session. You didn't want that. Then, as I said, your attorney made a motion nevertheless, disagreeing as he did—I want to be frank—with my interpretation of the rule, nevertheless couldn't it be arranged that you would be heard in executive session. In order to save you and your attorney the embarrassment of having to make this in open session, I permitted you to make the additional motion in executive session and that motion was made, arguments were made—your attorney is a very brilliant, a very fine gentleman; as far as I know, you are, too, I am not questioning that—but we were so convinced that he was wrong that I had to overrule that.

I am sorry you repeat this in open session. You bring it on yourself. Now, those—

Mr. TILSEN. May I respond just briefly?

The CHAIRMAN. That is your reliance on an alleged violation of our—

Mr. TILSEN. Can I respond?

The CHAIRMAN. I haven't finished.

Now, you say the questioning is being conducted in violation of Rule XXI of this committee, in that your name—I mean Rule XVI of this committee, in that your name and the fact that you were subpoenaed were made public prior to the date of your appearance here.

Let me say this about that. I am glad you bring it up. That is the rule of this committee. We have never violated it. Some press people, radio people, TV people—and I am not naming names, but it is true—inquired about it. We didn't leak those names out, your name or any name out. It crept into the press. How, I don't know. We are not responsible for it. But I now say, with all the press and TV and radio people present, if they are willing to indicate to me that a member of my staff or a member of my staff, from top to bottom, did cause these names to be in the press before this appearance, and if that is true, that person will be fired in 5 minutes, because we have never violated that rule. But from place to place where we appear, somehow the names do come out, and I have a pretty good idea sometimes as to who leaks them out in order to make us the scapegoat. But I say there is no foundation to that. We didn't publish your name or the name of anybody else.

You refer to some—you say that Rule XI of Public Law 601 concerning this committee is so broad and so vague that it violates both the first amendment and the due process clause. Well, now, if that is so, your quarrel is not with me, your quarrel is with the Congress of the United States. As I said in opening this session, this committee is one of 20 standing committees of the House created by the Congress,

so we are here as a creature of the House, as an agent of the House, under the mandate of the House, and if anybody quarrels with the rule that you refer to, which is Public Law 601, based on that law, then your quarrel is with the Congress and not with Ed Willis or with the members here. And, furthermore, referring to decisions that you quoted, I tell you there are a lot of decisions affirming this jurisdiction.

I didn't mean to be so long, I didn't mean to be pointed, but I was disappointed that things in executive session were attempted to be rehashed here. So again I say to you that your refusal to respond to that question as to events even prior to 1950, which unquestionably will be brought up today, is completely unfounded and I direct you, for the third time, to answer.

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Willis, if I may just briefly respond.

With respect to objection 6, I think the record should be clear that we did make a record of our position as to the meaning of Rule XI, 26(m).

The CHAIRMAN. You did.

Mr. TILSEN. And our belief that I am entitled, as a matter of right, to an executive session pursuant to clause 1, and you explained to us very clearly, as you have now explained again, that it is your belief that pursuant to clauses 2 and 3 you have complied with that rule. The inclusion of that as a grounds for objection was not intended to be a basis to reargue the matter already argued early yesterday morning, but simply a simple statement of fact that we preserve our position relative to what we believe to be in lawyerlike fashion the proper meaning of Rule 6.

We recognize the position that you have stated in executive session and the position you have now stated, and I am certain that you recognize the position we stated in executive session and the reason for including this as a grounds for objection in order that it could appear, if it ever has to, at a subsequent time. The only comment I would make is that certainly I would hope that in the course of this interrogation that comments such as untruth or false would not be used by any of us, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you are right and I would correct it. I would say it is not consistent with our appreciation of the situation.

Mr. TILSEN. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. You are absolutely correct. We had a very pleasant executive session yesterday. Your rights were preserved, a transcript was made, they are right there, and for the sake of anonymity, for your own protection, a record having been made that you wouldn't repeat it here, because now having repeated it, in fairness to me and the committee, I have been, I think, rather forced to say what I just said. I regret the incident, but you brought it on yourself, because unless I had made this statement, then it would appear that you would have your way and one side of the record wouldn't be complete. So, anyway, you were ordered to answer the question, consistent with the rules of the committee and the Supreme Court decisions requiring the chairman to order a witness to answer, to give him an opportunity to think it over again and consult with your lawyer. So consult with him and if you hold onto your position, why, then the record is made.

Mr. TILSEN. I think the record is clear that I have stated both in my statement of position as to what I will answer and what I won't and my legal grounds for not answering.

Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party in the years 1948 and 1949 and 1950 while a student at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILSEN. Since September 23, 1950, or more exactly since any date in which this committee can lawfully, under my interpretation of law, inquire of me, I have not been, and am not now, a member of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Tilsen, did you on the date of September 23, 1950, submit your resignation from the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. I believe I have answered that question to the extent that it is pertinent to the subject under inquiry.

The CHAIRMAN. So you draw a sharp line in your testimony, and I suppose that will be the pattern?

Mr. TILSEN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. Beginning with 1950?

Mr. TILSEN. September 23, for lack of a better date to pick.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, that is your position. It sounds nice from your point of view. But again, I don't accept it. You told us everything that was nice about you before that date, and we have sworn evidence the other way, but that's your decision. And without the necessity of repeating what you have said or I have said, you may, if you want to, for the sake of timesaving, say that for "reasons previously indicated, I refuse to answer."

Mr. TILSEN. I believe I have answered the last question.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, in connection with your last—

Read the question. Or counsel can restate it.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the Communist Party during the years 1948, 1949, and 1950, while a student at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILSEN. Could the reporter read my answer. I believe I have answered it and I think that is—

The CHAIRMAN. No. It was a double-barreled answer. You said since that time you were not.

Mr. TILSEN. That is my answer to the question. I think the question is a multiple one and I don't believe I have to answer such a question "yes" or "no."

The CHAIRMAN. You are right.

Split it into two. Ask the one you just asked singly, on its own four legs; will you?

Mr. NITTLE. The question posed the witness is, Were you a member of the Communist Party during the years 1948, 1949, and 1950 while a student at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILSEN. I submit, Mr. Chairman, that I have answered that question. To the extent that my answer is nonresponsive, if the Chair feels it is nonresponsive, to assist the committee in moving forward I would state that the nonresponsive character of the answer, if it is such, is on the basis of the grounds and explanations that we have just covered.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you refuse to answer that question for the same reasons heretofore advanced?

Mr. TILSEN. Well, I actually believe I have answered it.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, I haven't heard the answer and I would like to hear the answer.

Mr. TILSEN. Insofar as the answer calls for information, as the question calls for information within the authority of this committee subsequent to September 23, 1950, I have answered the question by stating that I am not, and have not been and am not now, a member of the Communist Party. I haven't waited for you to expand it. Insofar as it asks for information prior thereto, then I stand upon the objections, and that is what I was trying to explain to the Chair.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. What objections?

Mr. TILSEN. The objections and all of them, the statement and my 10 grounds of objection. If the Chair wants me to reread them, I will.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. All right, for the grounds previously urged, on the grounds previously urged?

Mr. TILSEN. That is right.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, one question.

The CHAIRMAN. Wait.

The committee does not accept any or all of these grounds put together. I caution the gentleman that he has not invoked the protection of the fifth amendment and, therefore, I order you to answer the question directly.

Mr. TILSEN. I have, sir.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. The self-incrimination part of the fifth amendment?

Mr. TILSEN. Well, so that the record is clear, I will specifically refuse to answer that portion of the question that asks for any information prior to September 23, 1950, on the 10 grounds enumerated a few minutes ago.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Without invoking the privilege of the self-incriminating part of the fifth amendment?

Mr. TILSEN. That is correct.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. All right, now we have a clear-cut case and we can proceed where we are.

Having set forth in the record your position and ours, I now direct you to answer that question, and limited to the question on its face, namely, were you a member of the Communist Party in 1948, '49, and '50 while a student at the university.

Mr. TILSEN. I stand on my partial answer, or on the answer I have given and the objections I have raised.

The CHAIRMAN. You acknowledge you have only given a partial answer, and I caution you that this is crucial under the procedures of the House and under the rules. If you are satisfied with your answer, I am satisfied with the record I have made out. I am not satisfied with your answer, and I think that—well, things will take care of themselves.

Proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. During the period you were in attendance at the University of Minnesota, were you an officer of the Marxist Socialist Club?

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Chairman, I refuse to answer that question for all of the grounds already stated.

The CHAIRMAN. But not including an invocation of the self-incriminating provision of the fifth amendment?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes.

Mr. Chairman, you may assume that I do not intend at any time during the course of these sessions to invoke such privilege.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we understand each other pretty good. We are making a good record.

Since I don't agree with you, I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. TILSEN. Same response, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. And your position is the same?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you an official spokesman on the campus of the University of Minnesota while a law student there on behalf of the Communist Party of Minnesota?

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Chairman, with respect to the last question and this question, in addition to the grounds that are stated, and I am going to refuse to answer this question, I have not had a meaningful explanation describing either the topic under inquiry or the connective reasoning whereby the precise question asked relates to the topic under inquiry, nor has there been a disclosure of the specific legislative need for an answer to that question.

Now, I raise this objection specifically again with respect to the last question prior to the direction and I raise it with respect to this question in addition to it being included within the other 10 objections.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I discussed that in my ruling a while ago, and I think I related the pertinency of it and I think the pertinency appears on the face of the resolution, but perhaps counsel might want to add an explanation.

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, Mr. Chairman. I certainly would agree that the pertinency appears with indisputable clarity under the circumstances.

Now with respect to the resolution, Mr. Tilsen, I am sure you are aware it authorizes the subcommittee and the committee to investigate Communist activities in the Minneapolis area. You have been advised that the committee is interested in ascertaining the activities of the Communist Party on the campus of the University of Minnesota, particularly in connection with the testimony received from Mrs. Ruth Gordienko. We are asking you about Communist activities, your Communist activities, at the university, and it seems to be clearly relevant to the resolution which authorizes this investigation of Communist activities in the State of Minnesota.

Mr. TILSEN. Without arguing the point, I urge each one of the 10 objections in response to that question.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. Witness, you stated your background about law and serving your country—and in a way I can almost follow myself, except from moving out of Minnesota and going down to Arizona—and I am interested in legislation that would help former members of the Communist Party to regain and return and recapture their beliefs in the American democratic principles, and this means that I am interested in those members, whether they were members prior to September 23, 1950, or otherwise. And I would like very much to ask you this question. You told us now that you are not a member of the Communist Party since September 23, 1950. Were you a member of the Communist Party prior to that time?

Mr. TILSEN. I fail to see the pertinency of the question, Mr. Senner, to the topic under inquiry here or to the legislative need for an answer to such a question.

Mr. SENNER. Counsel, wouldn't you agree that perhaps a lot of our youth of this country back in 1948, 1949, 1950, took the wrong turn down the road and want to make the correction, want to come back and join our society, join our people, believe in our fundamental doctrines of the United States Constitution, some of these provisions that you have raised here today? Shouldn't this committee be interested in trying to help those members come on back and join our society? That is the pertinency as far as this member of this subcommittee is concerned. I have explained it to you now. Maybe you don't agree with it. But the question is now, again, Were you a member of the Communist Party prior to September 23, 1950?

Mr. TILSEN. Well, Mr. Senner, you have included a number of questions, including those asking for my beliefs, but I believe that you want me to respond to the original question, and the one that you just restated at the end, and not to any of the intermediate questions.

Mr. SENNER. The others are statements, they are really not questions.

Mr. TILSEN. Thank you.

I am not going to answer that question for the reasons already given and on the grounds already given.

I would like to, in addition, specifically, call the chairman's attention to the 10th ground for objection, that if the claimed basis for the pertinency of the question relates to some subject of inquiry not mentioned in the committee resolution of May 27, 1964, then I have been deprived of the adequate opportunity for the hearing, and this particularly is true in view of the fact that there are a number of questions about my beliefs that he has inquired of, and the subcommittee does not have authority under the resolution to question me about such subject of inquiry.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, if I—

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, the resolution, the last paragraph thereof, states—

the hearings may include any other matter within the jurisdiction of the Committee which it or any subcommittee thereof, appointed to conduct these hearings, may designate.

So it is within the resolution. However, you have answered.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Tilsen, have you since September 23, 1950, ever filled out an affidavit in which you have denied that you have ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Senner, I do not believe the question is pertinent, but I will answer it anyway. I don't believe that I have ever had an opportunity to fill out, or a reason to fill out, such an application. It may have happened; if so, I have signed it without it making any impression upon my mind. I have no recollection, one way or the other, with respect to the question you ask.

Mr. SENNER. When you took the bar examination, I understand that was in the year 1951; is that correct?

Mr. TILSEN. No, it was in 1950, sir.

Mr. SENNER. January of 1950?

Mr. TILSEN. No; to the extent that it is pertinent, it was in the summer of 1950.

Mr. SENNER. When were you admitted to practice law before the district court?

Mr. TILSEN. January 5, 1951.

Mr. SENNER. When were you admitted to practice before the United States Supreme Court?

Mr. TILSEN. I am not sure. I think it was December of 1962, and I could be wrong.

Mr. SENNER. But it was at least 5 years after you graduated?

Mr. TILSEN. Oh, yes.

Mr. SENNER. Do you recall on any of these forms whether or not questions were asked of you whether or not you belonged to a subversive group or to the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Senner, without waiving any pertinency objections that I have, because I don't really agree that you have the right to ask these questions, the answer is that I have no recollection of any sort of any questions of that type. If such questions were present, I answered them.

Mr. SENNER. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. What is the line of demarcation?

Mr. TILSEN. September 23, 1950.

The CHAIRMAN. Since September 23, 1950, have you had any affiliation, ties, meetings, discussion of Communist projects and Communist plans, current Communist activities, and so on, with persons known by you to be, or to have been, members of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. No.

The CHAIRMAN. Go on, Mr. Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Tilsen, did you in 1948 recruit Mrs. Ruth Gordienko into the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Nittle, I refuse to answer that question on the same grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Since those grounds do not include invocation of the self-incrimination provision of the fifth amendment, I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. TILSEN. I stand on the grounds that I have indicated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Tilsen, did you hear the chairman's opening statement at the commencement of these hearings?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say that, just in, I would suppose, a further amplification or an explanation of the purpose of the hearings, we want to know if you are aware of what I said in the opening statement, not that I could trick you as a lawyer, but I wouldn't even try.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you personally invite Robert Kelly, whom Mrs. Gordienko identified as a State labor leader of the Communist Party, to address the Marxist Socialist Club on the campus of the University of Minnesota in 1948?

Mr. TILSEN. I respectfully refuse to answer it for the grounds already stated.

The CHAIRMAN. And for the reasons previously indicated, I will order you to answer the question.

Mr. TILSEN. And I will stand on the grounds and reasons indicated in the record.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you assign Mrs. Gordienko to a women's cell group of the Communist Party at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILSEN. Well, Mr. Nittle, I really fail to see the purpose of the questioning. I have indicated in my statement——

Mr. NITTLE. I think the purpose of this question is very obvious to you, Mr. Tilsen.

Mr. TILSEN. No, it isn't. I have stated in my statement the questions that I will answer and the questions that I will not; and, of course, this question is quite clearly within those that I believe, as a legal right, I do not have to answer and you do not have a right to ask. And I see no basis for continuing to ask questions that we have agreed we have a disagreement on.

Mr. NITTLE. Here is a question I think you may want to answer: In the course of your activity, or activity testified to by Mrs. Gordienko, as a leader of the Marxist Socialist Club and as a Communist Party spokesman upon the campus of the University of Minnesota, did you acquire any knowledge with respect to whether or not the Communist Party of the United States was a disciplined organization operating here under Soviet Union control with the objective of installing a Soviet-style dictatorship in the United States?

Mr. TILSEN. I didn't follow the question.

Well, it is a rather multiple question and with respect to all the propositions or prepositions in the introductory portion I would refuse to answer, and with respect to the conclusionary portion I would have no knowledge with which to answer one way or the other. I can't do any better than that.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Ruth Gordienko testified that at your home in Minneapolis you took her membership application, that she signed a blank at your home for membership, and that she was thereafter assigned to a women's cell group. Are you aware of these facts? Did you hear her testimony with respect to that?

Mr. TILSEN. I heard her testimony, if that is the question, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you have anything to say in denial or in affirmation of that testimony or in explanation of it?

Mr. TILSEN. Well, Counsel, you have asked me if I have anything to say in denial or affirmation or in explanation?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, that is right.

Mr. TILSEN. And in response to that, I would just like to read two sentences from Justice Black of the United States Supreme Court.

Mr. NITTLE. I don't think we need to hear about Justice Black.

Mr. TILSEN. This is in response to your question.

The CHAIRMAN. The counsel has asked the question, and he may respond to it. He can quote Justice Black or anybody else.

You asked for an opinion question, you asked for it, so let him respond.

Mr. SENNER. The only point I was trying to make, Mr. Chairman, was whether or not this is a majority opinion or a minority opinion.

Mr. TILSEN. It is just a comment he makes in the Wilkinson case. He says:

In the atmosphere existing in this country today, the charge that someone is a Communist is so common that hardly anyone active in public life escapes it. Every member of this Court has, on one occasion or another, been so designated. And a vast majority of the members of the other two branches of Government have fared no better. If the mere fact that someone has been called a Com-

munist is to be permitted to satisfy a requirement of probable cause, I think it plain that such a requirement is wholly without value.

The CHAIRMAN. Now having said it, the majority was the other way; but let it go at that.

Now, Mr. Nittle, would you ask a factual question?

Mr. TILSEN. Five to four, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you saying by your response to that question that you were never, in fact, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. I believe the record is clear as to my response. I have responded to the period of time——

Mr. NITTLE. I am asking you whether you are saying whether or not you have ever been a member of the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. He is not. Proceed to the next question.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at the time of your attendance at the University of Minnesota during the years 1946 to 1950 know Rose Tillotson Renaud?

Mr. TILSEN. In view of the fact that I do not believe that any question prior to September 23, 1950, is pertinent to the subject under inquiry, I urge that and each other ground that I have already stated in response to that question.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Rose Tillotson Renaud to be a member of the State board of the Communist Party in Minnesota at the time of your attendance at the university?

Mr. TILSEN. I make the same response, Mr. Nittle.

The CHAIRMAN. And I order you to answer for the reasons I have given.

Mr. TILSEN. Yes, and I stand on the grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified that during his membership in the Communist Party from the period 1960 to 1963, he knew Rose Tillotson Renaud to be a member of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party executive committee. We are interested in ascertaining information in relation to the activities of Rose Tillotson Renaud at the University of Minnesota, and the techniques of operation of Communists in respect to their attempt to indoctrinate and recruit Communist Party members at universities or other places in the country.

Now, this information would be of great value to the committee, for you have had an intimate experience in the operation, or it appears to the committee, according to testimony received, that you have had an intimate experience with respect to the Communist Party operations in connection with universities. We think you would want to cooperate in an area that involves the national security and to give this committee the benefit of your experience and testimony.

We heard a prior witness, Mrs. Gordienko, who had been a member of the Communist Party at one time, a bona fide member, and she testified today, and we believe her testimony was of great importance on this factfinding mission and in this investigation. Now we are asking you, as an American citizen, a lawyer, a practicing lawyer, to give this committee that information.

Mr. TILSEN. I am sorry, Mr. Nittle, I don't know what question is pending.

Mr. NITTLE. I am quite sure you know what the question is. Do you know Rose Tillotson Renaud as a member of the Communist Party,

and can you tell us about her activities in connection with the direction, organization, or administration of Communist youth groups at the University of Minnesota during the period while you were in attendance there? Is that clear?

Mr. TILSEN. I assume in view of all of your comments that the question relates exclusively to the period prior to September 23, 1950, and if that assumption is correct, I believe I have stated my grounds for refusing to answer, and I would stand on them.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you may assume the question relates to the period prior to September 23, 1950.

Mr. TILSEN. Then I have refused to answer.

The CHAIRMAN. So you stand on your same answer?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer.

Mr. TILSEN. And I stand on it.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Proceed, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Tilsen, Mrs. Gordienko testified today that she received information from Rose Tillotson Renaud, a top Communist Party official in 1948, of the existence of a professional cell of the Communist Party at the University of Minnesota campus. It is of importance to the committee to determine, and to know, whether that cell continues in existence there, and we believe that by reason of the testimony with regard to you by Mrs. Gordienko, you would possess knowledge of the fact whether such a cell existed at the university at that time.

Now would you tell the committee, please, whether you have any knowledge of the existence of a professional cell of the Communist Party at the University of Minnesota during the period you were a student there?

The CHAIRMAN. He is again talking about the period prior to September 23, 1950.

Mr. TILSEN. Well, because the question contains a number of factors concerning the university and implies a knowledge which I do not have, I would like to state that I possess no knowledge as to any Communists on the campus of the University of Minnesota at this time or at any time that I believe is involved in the investigation of this committee or is pertinent to the subject matter of this committee.

Now with respect to the question as clarified by the chairman, I will not answer it because I do not believe that the committee has a right to inquire into that matter which is not pertinent to the subject matter.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, you are blowing hot and cold. You can't get by with that. You have opened the door, and I am therefore going to order you to answer the question not only before, but after, September 23, 1950. For your self-edification, you answered the question by saying you have no knowledge before or after, but, however, in the context of the question you refuse to answer. You can't do that. I now very definitely order you to answer the question. And under the laws of the Supreme Court of the United States, you have opened the door on this and other questions along that line.

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Willis, I believe you have misunderstood my answer.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope I did for your sake.

Mr. TILSEN. Perhaps the court reporter would reread my answer.

(The reporter read the answer.)

The CHAIRMAN. I hold onto my ruling. Answer the question.

Mr. TILSEN. I hold onto my grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. Not your grounds, you have waived those grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Tilsen, I am going to ask you—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, let's understand each other, and if that is the import of your answer I will accept it. All that you said in answer to this question relates to the period prior to September 23, 1950, and you meant to go no farther.

Mr. TILSEN. Subsequent to, not prior; after, subsequent, not prior to.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, I see. So you refuse to answer the question as to any period prior to?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes, I do.

The CHAIRMAN. That clarifies it.

Mr. NITTLE. And you will not tell the committee whether or not you possess any information—

The CHAIRMAN. He has answered that question, if you are going into the same area.

In light of your lack of invocation of the constitutional provisions which I regard, we regard, as acceptable, I direct you to answer the question as to the period prior to September 23, 1950.

Mr. TILSEN. I believe the record is clear as to my refusal and the grounds thereof, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. In other words, you refuse to answer despite the order?

Mr. TILSEN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. All right, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, Mr. Tilsen, perhaps you will assist the committee at least in giving it information from which it may develop leads as to others who may possess such knowledge as to the existence of a secret professional cell at the University of Minnesota, if you were to respond to the inquiry as to whether or not you knew Rose Tillotson Renaud to be the Communist Party official in charge of, or participating in, Communist Party activities at the University of Minnesota.

Mr. TILSEN. Can I assume that you are talking about the period that I believe is pertinent to the subject under inquiry, or can I assume you are talking about the period that I believe is not pertinent to the subject under inquiry? Could you respond to that?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I think you should, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. I am referring to your knowledge of her activities prior to September 23, 1950. Would you answer the question with respect to that period?

Mr. TILSEN. With respect to that period, my answer is a refusal based upon all of the grounds that I have indicated, including specifically, of course, the fact that it is outside the subject, the periods in which this committee can inquire.

Mr. NITTLE. There was testimony received by the committee that Carl Ross, a top Communist Party official, was a chairman during the period of your attendance at the University of Minnesota.

Did you know Carl Ross to be active in connection with any youth activities in which you may have been engaged at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILSEN. In order to keep the record straight and avoid the necessity, would you make it clear again that you are inquiring prior to September 23, 1950?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes.

Mr. TILSEN. Prior to September 23, 1950, I will not answer the question.

The CHAIRMAN. For the reasons previously indicated?

Mr. TILSEN. For the reasons given, yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Martin Mackie, another top Communist official in the State of Minnesota, during the period of your attendance at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Nittle, I don't believe I am going to answer any questions of that nature as to who I did, or did not, know because I don't believe that it can be demonstrated to be proper questions and questions that are pertinent to the subject under inquiry and that there is a legislative need for an answer to these questions. I have stated 10 grounds for refusing to answer.

Mr. NITTLE. I understand that.

Mr. TILSEN. And I am relying on each one of the 10, although specifically calling your attention to these factors again.

Mr. NITTLE. There is always a possibility you might change your mind.

Mr. TILSEN. I doubt that, Mr. Nittle, really.

Mr. NITTLE. You are convincing me of it, too.

The CHAIRMAN. You are refusing to answer for the reasons previously indicated?

Mr. TILSEN. That is correct.

The CHAIRMAN. And lacking proper constitutional grounds, I will order you answer it.

Mr. TILSEN. I stand on my grounds.

The CHAIRMAN. And your general argument is that you are not going to; I mean no witness has a right to direct our method of questioning, particularly when a witness is invoking what he conceives to be constitutional rights.

So, Mr. Nittle, if you have questions as to any other party member, fire away; if not, move.

Mr. NITTLE. When you fix the date of September 23, 1950, as the "iron curtain" of your testimony, is it because you were, prior to September 23, 1950, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. Mr. Nittle, I do not believe it is appropriate to accomplish—

The CHAIRMAN. Well, now, I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. TILSEN. I don't believe it is a question that can be answered, nor do I believe it is a question that is susceptible to an answer, but I would do my best to answer it in my own fashion.

I do not believe that you can accomplish by innuendo, in asking a question, that which you cannot accomplish directly. My reasons for refusing to answer the question, and my refusal of this question, have been spelled out in the statement of my motivation and in the quotation from Justice Black, and I do not believe that the question is, there-

fore, proper as to form and does not call for any facts whatsoever. It calls for my beliefs, which I have given.

The CHAIRMAN. So therefore you invoke your right——

Mr. TILSEN. Actually, I would call your attention to the impropriety of the form of the question. It does not call for facts, it calls for my opinion.

The CHAIRMAN. I think it is completely proper. I am a lawyer, and we have a way of fouling up things. You are pussyfooting on that one, and I will direct you to answer.

Mr. TILSEN. To the extent the question calls for facts, although I do not believe it does, I will then stand on each ground I have already preserved.

The CHAIRMAN. Accepting none of them, I direct you to answer.

Mr. TILSEN. I stand on the grounds.

Mr. NITTLE. Let me put it to you directly: Were you not, immediately prior to September 23, 1950, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. I believe I have already refused to answer that question for the grounds, all of the various grounds, urged already in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in a very direct form, so therefore I direct you to answer it.

Mr. TILSEN. And I stand on the grounds, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Now I want to pose another question, which I don't think you can claim to be an innuendo.

In testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board on January 13, 1954, Barbara Louise Roehrich, who was identified by Mrs. Gordienko as a member of her cell at the University of Minnesota, stated, testified that she executed an application for membership in the Communist Party during February of 1949. She further testified that Rachel Tilsen was the chairman of the University Village Club of the Minneapolis Communist Party and Minnesota State treasurer of the Labor Youth League and that she, Rachel Tilsen, took her application for membership in the Communist Party during February of 1949. Mrs. Roehrich also testified that Kenneth Tilsen and several others asked her to join the Communist Party.

Now, did you during February of 1949, or at any time during the year 1949, ask Barbara Roehrich to join the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. I respectfully decline to answer that question on all of the grounds already urged.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. Not accepting them, I direct you to answer.

Mr. TILSEN. I understand that.

Mr. CHAIRMAN. You persist in your views?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes, I do.

Mr. NITTLE. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Tilsen, in one of your very initial answers I made a note that you said that you were admitted to the bar of Minnesota in 1951. Did I misunderstand you?

Mr. TILSEN. That is correct, January 5.

The CHAIRMAN. This may seem repetitious, but I didn't completely understand the questions of Congressman Senner. Did you have to, or did you, execute an affidavit of any kind in connection with your admission to the bar in 1951?

Mr. TILSEN. I answered Mr. Senner that I may well have. If there were such applications I signed them. I have no recollection whatsoever of the information that Mr. Senner requested.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you have any knowledge of the fact that, not referring to you or your recollection, but as a matter of requirement, that all lawyers admitted to practice in Minnesota must file an affidavit; do you have knowledge of that?

Mr. TILSEN. Are you referring to a non-Communist affidavit, Mr. Willis?

The CHAIRMAN. Any kind of affidavit.

Mr. TILSEN. Well, you do have to file an affidavit, yes, or an application.

The CHAIRMAN. But the point is, you don't know whether that affidavit contains the question as to disclaimer of membership, present or past?

Mr. TILSEN. I have no present recollection, no. I don't know what it requires at this time.

The CHAIRMAN. And I understand that you were admitted to practice before the Supreme Court of the United States in '60 or '61?

Mr. TILSEN. I think I said December of '62. That is my best recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. All right. Well, there I do know that an affidavit is required. You did sign an affidavit?

Mr. TILSEN. If it was required, I signed it, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether that affidavit contains a disclaimer provision?

Mr. TILSEN. I have no present recollection.

The CHAIRMAN. Well, I can tell you that it has questions along that line.

Mr. TILSEN. Yes, and if it has such questions, I am sure I signed them.

The CHAIRMAN. And your answer would have been "No"; it would not have been an admission that you were ever associated with the Communist Party?

Mr. TILSEN. Well, we are getting into a hypothesis. Whatever answers the application called for, I answered truthfully.

The CHAIRMAN. One of the things I am going to require that counsel get and put into the record at this point is the form of affidavits, if any, required in applications by the bar of this State and of the United States Supreme Court. Will you see that that is done, Mr. Nittle?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.¹

The CHAIRMAN. Are you a notary public?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes, I am.

The CHAIRMAN. Did you have to sign an affidavit as a notary public?

Mr. TILSEN. I am not objecting to the questions, although I do feel that they are not pertinent to a legislative inquiry because I am not on trial, Mr. Willis, but I am answering your questions, because I am subpoenaed here, without regard to their pertinence at this point in view of the situation right here.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, you made this voluntary statement, let me make this one. It doesn't come with too much good grace for you to

¹ For copy of these applications, marked for identification as "Committee Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," respectively, see pp. 1850-1857.

advance that point because you have been sort of bragging, you want us to go into the period after September 23, 1950, and when you sort of squeeze on specific questions you make an argument that this is silly, yet you will be generous enough to answer. Now I am asking you: Did you sign an affidavit as a notary public?

Mr. TILSEN. Sir, if there was such—I have been a notary public for some time and I have signed any papers and all papers required to be a notary public. I have actually right now no recollection, or not a specific recollection, of the nature of the papers required to become a notary public. And I didn't mean to infer I was squeezed, I simply meant to infer that without criticism of the chairman that we were embarking into a discussion of myself.

The CHAIRMAN. I think this turns out to be a minor field, these affidavits, but yet that is the only period you want to talk about, and you know the pertinency. I am sure, as a lawyer, of questions along these lines, signing an affidavit asking questions, possible questions, about affiliation with, or actual membership in, the Communist Party. So that answers that.

You have taken the position that you will, for the reasons thought by you to be substantial, refuse to answer all questions involving membership in, affiliation with, knowledge of, party affairs prior to September 23, 1950, so as a sharp line of demarcation, and we had hoped to question you about many things thereafter but you won't answer questions even about afterwards, and so on. So, from our point of view, those are all the questions I have.

Do you have any?

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I have no questions.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, I have one or two.

Counsel, since September 23, 1950, have you met and dealt with Carl Ross?

Mr. TILSEN. He has been a client of mine on a matter that has no political significance or consequence.

Mr. SENNER. I don't want you to disclose attorney-client relationship, that would be the last thing I would ask. Have you had any dealings with Martin Mackie since September 23, 1950?

Mr. TILSEN. No.

Mr. SENNER. Fred Fine?

Mr. TILSEN. In connection with a business transaction through the mail, but not to the best of my present recollection in person, but it had no political consequences whatsoever.

Mr. SENNER. You were an incorporator, were you not, for a corporation, the Gopher Bumper Exchange, Inc.?

Mr. TILSEN. Yes.

Mr. SENNER. And which Carl E. Ross was an officer of that corporation?

Mr. TILSEN. Well, Mr. Senner, I will ask your good judgment as to whether or not the question does call for a violation of the attorney-client privilege. The corporate documents of that corporation are of public record.

Mr. SENNER. And whatever those documents would indicate, you would not deny?

Mr. TILSEN. No, of course not.

Mr. SENNER. Have you contributed, aided, given comfort to, the Communist Party since September 23, 1950, either directly or indirectly?

Mr. TILSEN. No, sir.

Mr. SENNER. I have no further questions.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. I have no questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. Next witness.

(Documents marked "Committee Exhibits Nos. 1 and 2," respectively, follow:)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1

MINNESOTA STATE BOARD OF LAW EXAMINERS

APPLICATION FOR PERMISSION TO TAKE BAR EXAMINATION

(Answers typewritten are much easier to read. All question must be answered.)

TO THE STATE BOARD OF LAW EXAMINERS FOR MINNESOTA:

I hereby make application to take the examination for admission to the Bar to be held in the month of _____, 19____, and in connection therewith make true and correct answers to the following questions:—

1. (a) Give your full name.
(b) Age.
(c) Married or single.
(d) If married, give date and place of marriage.
(e) Date and place of birth.
(f) If born in a foreign country, when did you come to the United States? Give port of entry and name of ship.
(g) If naturalized, give date and place.
(h) Have you ever changed your name, and if so, state facts fully.
2. (a) Present address.
(b) Give specific addresses of your place of abode during the past five years, and specify the dates and length of time of residence at each place.
(c) If your legal residence during the past five years has been different from your place of abode, give the same information with respect to your legal residence.
3. Give names, date and place of birth, present residence and occupation of parents. In the event that either parent is dead or retired, give address and occupation at time of death or prior to retirement.
4. (a) What high school or high schools have you attended, and between what dates?
(b) Are you a high school graduate? If so, give name and address of school, and date of graduation.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

5. (a) Did you attend college other than law school? If so, state what college or colleges and when, specifying dates.

(b) What college degrees, if any, have you received? Give date, and name of college.
6. (a) Did you attend a law school? If so, state what schools and when, specifying dates.

(b) What degrees in law, if any, have you received? Give date, and name of school.
7. (a) Have you ever been employed by an attorney or firm of attorneys, or studied in a law office?

(b) If so, give a complete list of such offices and their addresses and state the period specifying dates of your employment or study in each.

(c) If employed, state the nature and extent of your duties in such employment.

(d) Have you ever participated or engaged in any act either individually or together with or on behalf of any attorney, which act was contrary to the canons of legal ethics?
8. Have you ever applied for admission to practice as attorney or counsellor in any court in any other state or country? If so, specify when and where; whether you were admitted to the bar, and if so, how long and where you practiced.

(a) Do you intend to apply for admission to practice as attorney at law in any other state or country?

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

9. If you have been admitted as an attorney in any other state or country, have any charges of any kind ever been preferred against you as an attorney and counsellor at law? If so, when and with what result?
10. Have you previously applied for admission to the bar of the State of Minnesota? If so, how many times, when, and with what result?
11. Have you ever been engaged in any occupation, business or profession other than law? If so, when and where, specifying fully the names and addresses of your employers, the positions you have occupied, and the period of such employment, giving dates. Are such employers willing to appear before this Board or make a statement to it in your behalf? What is the address of your present business employment?
12. Have you ever been engaged in any business or profession on your own account? If so, state in detail the nature thereof, the time during which you were so engaged, where the business was located and what became of it.
13. Have you ever been a party to, or otherwise involved in, any legal proceeding, civil or criminal? If so, state facts fully.
14. Give the names and addresses of three attorneys, other than law school faculty members and those who have made affidavits in support of your application, residing in Minnesota to whom you refer as to your character, and state how long you have known each.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

15. Give the names, addresses and business of four persons residing in Minnesota, other than attorneys, to whom you refer as to your character, and state how long you have known each.

16. State fully the various reasons for your desire to be admitted to practice law in this state.

17. If you are a veteran were you Honorably Discharged? (submit a copy or evidence of said discharge)

Business Phone Number _____

Residence Phone Number _____

Signature of Applicant _____

STATE OF MINNESOTA,

COUNTY OF _____

} ss.

_____, being first duly sworn
deposes and says: I have read the foregoing questions and answers, and that the signature appended
thereto is my own; that said answers and all of them are true of my own knowledge.

Signature of Applicant _____

Subscribed and sworn to before me this

_____ day of _____, 19____

Notary Public.

(Two original applications must be filed
out, signed, and filed by each applicant)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2
Supreme Court of the United States

APPLICATION FOR ADMISSION TO PRACTICE

PERSONAL STATEMENT

- 1. Name
(Print or type name in full)
- 2. Office address of applicant
- 3. Residence address of applicant
- 4. Date of birth 5. Place of birth
- 6. Social Security Number
- 7. Names of parents: (a) Mother's maiden name
(b) Father's name
- 8. Courts of last resort to which applicant has been admitted to practice
.....
.....
- 9. Are you engaged in the practice of the law? State the nature of your practice,
whether by self, in partnership, or associated with or employed by others, giving the name
of firm or employer
.....
.....
- 10. List firms or other organizations with which you have been formerly associated, or by which
you have been employed, as a lawyer
.....
.....
.....
.....
- 11. State extent of undergraduate and legal education and where received
.....
.....
- 12. Have you ever changed your name or been known by any name of surname other than those
appearing on this application? If so, state and give details
.....
.....

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

13. Have you ever been disbarred or suspended from practice before any court, department, bureau, or commission of any State or the United States or have you received any reprimand from any such court, department, bureau, or commission pertaining to your conduct or fitness as a member of the bar? If so, answer in detail and attach a separate statement if necessary

[illegible]

CERTIFICATION

I certify that I have read the foregoing questions and have answered the same fully and frankly. Said answers are complete and are true to my own knowledge.

(Signature of applicant)

Dated this of, 19.....

STATEMENT OF SPONSORS

We, _____ and _____
(Print or type names in full)

(Print or type names in full)

....., being members of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and not related to the applicant, state that the applicant is personally known to us, that (He or she) possesses all the qualifications required for admission to the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States, that we have examined (His or her) personal statement and believe it to be correct, and we affirm that (His or her) personal and professional character and standing are good.

(Signature)

(Business address)

(Signature)

(Business address)

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

DETACH AND RETAIN

Supreme Court of the United States

NOTICE TO APPLICANTS FOR ADMISSION

The full text of Rule 5, which governs admission to practice, is printed on the back of this notice.

Attached is the form for the personal statement required by paragraph 2, of the rule, including space for endorsement by two sponsors. The sponsors must be members of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States who know the applicant personally and are not related to him by blood or marriage.

The applicant must obtain a certificate from the clerk (or presiding judge) of the highest court of a State (Territory, District, Commonwealth, or Possession) evidencing the fact that he has been a member of the bar of such court for at least 3 years and is in good standing.

The personal statement, properly indorsed, and the certificate constitute the application for admission. Promptly after receipt the Clerk will notify the applicant whether or not the papers are in proper form and after being notified that they are in order he may appear for admission on any day thereafter that the Court is in session. Open sessions are not held on Friday or Saturday.

The Court convenes at 10:00 a.m. and admissions are the first order of business.

It is essential that the applicant see the admission clerk (Room 154) between 8:30 and 9:00 a.m., on the day he wishes to be admitted in order to have his name placed on the admission list for that day. He will at that time give the clerk the name of the attorney who is to move his admission.

The motion for admission may be made by any member of the bar of the Supreme Court of the United States and it is only necessary that the member assure the Court that he is satisfied the applicant possesses the necessary qualifications. Such assurance may be given from personal knowledge, upon information and belief, or after examination of the application. The motion should be brief, e.g., "I move the admission of John Doe of New York. I am satisfied that he possesses the necessary qualifications."

The admission fee is \$25.00. Payment should be made at the time of signing the roll by check payable to "The Clerk, Supreme Court, U. S."

An application will be considered current for 1 year from the date of the clerk's certificate referred to in the third paragraph of this notice. After that time the papers will be returned for renewal.

JOHN F. DAVIS
Clerk of the Supreme Court of the United States,
Washington 25, D. C.

COMMITTEE EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

RULE 5

ADMISSION TO THE BAR

1. It shall be requisite to the admission of attorneys or counsellors to practice in this court, that they shall have been such for three years past in the highest court of a State, Territory, District, Commonwealth, or Possession, and that their private and professional characters shall appear to be good.

2. In advance of appearing for admission, each applicant shall file with the clerk (1) a certificate from the presiding judge or clerk of the proper court evidencing his admission to practice there and that he is presently in good standing, and (2) his personal statement, on the form approved by the court and furnished by the clerk, which shall be indorsed by two members of the bar of this court who are not related to the applicant.

3. Admissions will be granted only upon oral motion by a member of the bar in open court, and upon his assurance that he is satisfied that the applicant possesses the necessary qualifications.

4. Upon being admitted, each applicant shall take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation, viz:

I, _____, do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will demean myself, as an attorney and counsellor of this court, uprightly, and according to law; and that I will support the Constitution of the United States.

See Rule 52 (f) for fee required.

Mr. NITTLE. Carl Ross.

I beg your pardon, Mr. Chairman, we would like to call another witness before this one.

Rose Tillotson Renaud.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly affirm that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth?

Mrs. RENAUD. I solemnly affirm.

Mr. DILWORTH. Mr. Chairman, my client, Mrs. Renaud, has a nerve deafness which requires not necessarily loud noise, but clear enunciation, so if she doesn't understand you, bear with us, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Oh, surely.

TESTIMONY OF ROSE TILLOTSON RENAUD, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HARRISON P. DILWORTH

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Renaud, would you kindly state your full name and residence for the record, please?

Mrs. RENAUD. My name is Rose Renaud. My residence is 628 West Jessamine, St. Paul.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented today by counsel?

Mrs. RENAUD. Yes, I am represented.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel please state his name and office address for the record?

Mr. DILWORTH. My name is Harrison P. Dilworth. My office address is West 1462 First National Bank Building, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Renaud, would you tell the committee the date and place of your birth?

Mrs. RENAUD. February 9, 1901.

Mr. NITTLE. And where were you born?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mrs. RENAUD. Sir, you will have to repeat the question.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us what schools you have attended, what educational training you have had?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Renaud, you have been identified by Mr. Boehnke as the district secretary of the Communist Party for the Minnesota-Dakotas District. Are you presently the district secretary of the Communist Party?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you succeed Sam Davis as district secretary?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate

my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Gordienko testified that during the period of her membership in the Communist Party, during the years 1948 and 1949, you on one occasion told her of the existence of a highly secret professional cell of the Communist Party at the University of Minnesota, which consisted of professors and others. Did you make such a statement to Mrs. Gordienko?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you at that time in charge of the Communist Party's contacts at the University of Minnesota?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. As one of the top officials of the Communist Party in this district today, it is believed that you would possess knowledge whether or not there presently exists a Communist cell at the University of Minnesota composed of professional members. Do you have knowledge of the existence of any such cell at the University of Minnesota today?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke in hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board on March 17, 1964, testified that while he attended a Communist Party meeting at the residence of Betty Smith, during May of 1962, a piece of paper was passed around which named the State board of the Communist Party, noting your position on the board to be that of secretary and the position of Ralph Taylor to be that of chairman of the district. Were you present and in attendance at that meeting?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Is Ralph W. Taylor presently chairman of the Communist Party district committee?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you confirm Mr. Boehnke's testimony to the effect that other members of the district executive committee, in addition to yourself as secretary and Ralph W. Taylor as chairman, are Claude McDonald, Leo Giovannini, and Betty Smith?

Mrs. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

MR. NITTLE. As district secretary of the Communist Party, do you possess knowledge of the entire membership of the Communist Party in the Minnesota-Dakotas District?

MRS. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

MR. NITTLE. As district secretary, do you receive instructions directly from the general secretary of the Communist Party at New York City at its national headquarters?

MRS. RENAUD. Sir, you will have to repeat the question.

MR. NITTLE. Do you receive your instructions from Gus Hall, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States?

MRS. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

MR. NITTLE. Were you not, in fact, the Communist Party candidate for mayor of St. Paul during 1940?

MRS. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

MR. NITTLE. Of course, you recognize that the courts and the committee have only recognized the fifth amendment's self-incrimination clause as justification for refusal to answer questions pertinent to these inquiries.

MRS. RENAUD. I would like you to repeat the question, please.

MR. NITTLE. I stated that the committee does not recognize the first amendment as a basis for refusal to testify, nor have the courts upheld that position.

THE CHAIRMAN. Well, that is a statement. That is not a question, if that is all you said.

MR. NITTLE. We do recognize, however, your fifth amendment privilege with respect to the self-incrimination clause thereof.

Would you tell the committee in what way the district executive committee, of which you are secretary in the Minnesota-Dakotas District, communicates with the national headquarters of the Communist Party?

MRS. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

MR. NITTLE. The committee is interested in the efforts of the Communist Party to indoctrinate and recruit youth. Miss Withrow testified that, in this area and in this district, the Communist Party has made extensive efforts to recruit youth into the Communist Party in order to strengthen its membership and leadership.

Could you tell the committee whether the Communist Party has been successful in the recruitment of youth in this area?

MRS. RENAUD. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendment of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. James A. Brown.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. BROWN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES A. BROWN, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, RALPH STRANGIS

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Brown, would you kindly state your full name and address for the record?

Mr. BROWN. My name is James A. Brown.

Mr. NITTLE. And where do you live?

Mr. BROWN. 4020 Park Avenue, South, Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you also known as Jack Brown?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. BROWN. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. STRANGIS. My name is Ralph Strangis. My office address is 1200 Builders Exchange, Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth, Mr. Brown?

Mr. BROWN. I was born 7/12/23.

Mr. NITTLE. Where?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a usual preliminary background question. It does not involve constitutional provisions referred to, and I will order you to answer the question.

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. What has been your formal education?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. This is no proper invocation, but under the Supreme Court decisions I must warn you of this, so I direct you to answer the question, that particular question.

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified he was a member of the Communist Party in the Minneapolis area during the years 1960 to 1963 and that during that period he knew you to be a member of the city committee of the Communist Party. Was his testimony accurate?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you not know Ralph Taylor to be the secretary of the city committee, and other members of the committee besides yourself to consist of Betty Smith, Claude McDonald, Clarence Sharp, Sam K. Davis, and Leo Giovannini, at the time of his entry into the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. In addition to having been a member of the city committee, were you not also a chairman of the South Side Club of the Communist Party in Minneapolis?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you assigned to, or associated with, the Communist Party trade union activity group within the St. Paul-Minneapolis area?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee has been informed that a national Communist Party farm conference was held in 1960 at the Andrews Hotel in the city of Minneapolis, attended by all the national and leading party officials.

Were you in attendance at that meeting or farm conference at the Andrews Hotel in 1960?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did not at that meeting Gus Hall, the general secretary of the Communist Party of the United States, advise the national and local leadership of the Communist Party line to be adopted in relation to its activities pertaining to farming and farmers?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you as of this moment a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate

my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. No further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, I noticed the witness has a button on. What kind of button is that?

Mr. BROWN. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

Call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Carl Ross.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. Ross. I do.

TESTIMONY OF CARL ROSS, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH PERRY

Mr. NITTLE. Will you state your full name and address for the record, please?

Mr. Ross. Carl Ross, 415 East 39th Street, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Ross?

Mr. Ross. I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Will counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. PERRY. My name is Joseph Perry, 516 New York Building, St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth, Mr. Ross?

Mr. Ross. July 22, 1913, in Hancock, Michigan.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. There is no conceivable such connection and I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been known by any name other than Carl Ross?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you at any time known as Carl Edwin Rasi, R-a-s-i?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you at any time been known by the surname of Rosenbloom?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Ross, for the purpose of the record, were you present in the hearing room when Mrs. Ruth Gordienko testified this forenoon?

Mr. Ross. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. She testified that she knew you as an official of the Communist Party in 1950 and that you were the author of a letter of transferral addressed to the Communist Party of Canada, by which her membership and that of her husband in the Canadian party might be facilitated and Communist Party activities continued in that country. Were you a member of the Communist Party in 1950?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U. S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you execute such a letter of transferral?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you currently affiliated in any way with the Communist Party?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Ross, according to published reports you were a member and national officer of the Communist Party for a period of approximately 30 years, at least from the early 1930's to 1958, at which time the public press stated you reportedly broke with the Communist Party. Did you cease to be a member of the Communist Party in the year 1958?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. According to a newspaper account in the *Minneapolis Star* in the summer of 1963, it was reported that :

Carl E. Ross, former state secretary of the Minnesota Communist Party and once a member of the nine-man national Communist executive committee, has become what he used to call a "hated capitalist."

Apparently disenchanted after serving communism for 27 years, Ross broke with the party in 1958 and today is the president of a Minneapolis corporation.

Did you give that information to the newspaper reporter?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it true, as stated here, that you are disenchanted with communism?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or the sixth amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Ross, in view of that last question—I knew, of course, that it and others would be asked—but let me state this in all sincerity. I wish you had taken advantage of our invitation for you to appear before us in executive session yesterday morning, and perhaps in executive session you could have been of great aid to us and perhaps to yourself. I am just making that statement because some people do that and are mighty happy about it. Now, you refuse to answer whether you are now a member. Our information, in all fairness, is that he said it is reported that you broke away in 1958 and someone gave news to this newspaper a while ago that you were disenchanted. I wish you would think about it some of these days and, if you ever feel like it, get in touch with us.

Proceed, Counselor.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Ross, the committee realizes that you have acquired considerable knowledge by reason of your extensive experience as a member of the Communist Party in the past. It was hoped that you would assist this committee by making available the knowledge you possess of Communist Party operations.

When did you first become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The *Daily Worker* of October 20, 1953, in a published report indicates that you were a member of the Young Communist League prior to moving to Minnesota in 1934. Were you a member of the Young Communist League in 1934?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Let me ask you this. Under an act of Congress, never mind the detail, but under certain machiner—

Mr. Ross. I can't hear you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Under an act of Congress we passed some time ago, under certain technical conditions that I needn't go into, immunity from prosecution can be granted, which in this instance, if applied, would remove the apprehension which you have been saying you had if you would respond to these questions.

If such a procedure were to be suggested, would you then agree, your fears having been removed, to appear before us in executive session or in public session—we will let you choose—and respond to ques-

tions on information we have and which you could answer with great aid to your country?

Mr. ROSS. I would respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer given might incriminate me or might violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. That's the point, that it would not, but go ahead.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, your statement to the witness was to be interpreted by this committee, as I take it, as a preliminary question.

The CHAIRMAN. It is just an open question. I say "should it be done." I am not inviting him. I want to test what his reaction would be. This closes the matter so far as I am concerned.

Proceed.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman, while counsel is looking at a question to follow up, may I ask one here?

Mr. ROSS, apparently you founded the Gopher Bumper Exchange, Inc.; did you not?

Mr. ROSS. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that it may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. What is the purpose of this corporation?

Mr. ROSS. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. I have a photostatic copy of the articles of incorporation. It says:

The purposes of this corporation shall be to engage in the business of plating, reconditioning, repairing, salvaging, and selling automobile bumpers and related sundry parts and by-products, and to own, operate, manage and improve real estate, generally to buy, sell, and exchange real property, rent and lease property, to make mortgages on real property, to purchase, manufacture, acquire, hold, own, mortgage, pledge, lease, sell, assign, transfer, invest in, and trade in goods, wares, merchandise and property of every kind and description, and to carry on the above business and any other business authorized by the Laws of the State of Minnesota with all the powers of the Laws of the State of Minnesota confer upon a corporation.

If that is the purpose of this corporation, how could that tend to incriminate you?

Mr. ROSS. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or the sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. Is Mr. Kenneth Tilsen an incorporator of that corporation?

Mr. ROSS. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendments of the Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Is Martin Mackie an employee of, or in any way associated with, your corporation?

Mr. ROSS. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendments of the Constitution of the U.S.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Fred Fine an incorporator or officer of this corporation with you?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not serve on the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party with Fred Fine?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not elected to the National Committee of the Communist Party at a closed session of the party's 16th National Convention held in New York City in February 1957?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendments of the Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nittle, I think you referred to a Mr. Fine. Did you ask the witness who Mr. Fine is?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Mr. BRUCE. Did you ask him who he was or whether he was employed by him?

Mr. NITTLE. Whether he held any office.

The CHAIRMAN. Who is Mr. Fine?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that it may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, the fifth, or the sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether he now is, or was, a former member of the party's national committee?

Mr. Ross. Is that a question?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know whether Mr. Fine formerly was a member of the Communist Party's National Committee?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may violate, may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments under the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. I want to go back to the thought that occurred to me awhile ago. Our counsel stated that, according to our information, you broke away from the party in 1958, and I refer to the possibility of a voluntary appearance in executive session upon grant of immunity. Now I am going to ask this question because it is on my mind, it has happened quite a few times before. Witnesses whom we thought, according to our investigation, would voluntarily testify suddenly, right before taking the stand, appear with a lawyer and invoke the fifth amendment. We have very reliable information that in many instances this was the result of pressure. I am going to ask you: Were you pressured into not answering these questions, particularly those affecting your activities since 1958?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first and the fifth and the sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Nittle.

Mr. NITTLE. I just have a few more questions, Mr. Chairman, in the hope that the witness might see fit to cooperate and to give the committee the benefit of his knowledge.

The CHAIRMAN. I have asked him that, so go to something else.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Ross, the House Committee on Un-American Activities' hearing held in November 1961 made inquiry into the difficulties experienced by the United States Communist Party as a result of Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin before the 20th Soviet Party Congress in February 1956. The committee did receive information in the course of that hearing with respect to these difficulties. I wondered whether you would cooperate in rounding out the committee's knowledge by testifying with respect to these occurrences within the party with which you were intimately connected as a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party at that time.

Were you not appointed to a "collective leadership" of the Communist Party and made a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party in 1957?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, I do have one question.

Mr. Ross, I would like to ask you whether or not you have had any discussions with Kenneth Tilsen relating to the Communist Party since the date of the company's incorporation, and I am speaking of the company which was brought out in the questioning of Mr. Senner, namely, the Gopher Bumper Exchange?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. ICHORD. No further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. BRUCE. Mr. Ross, would you be described by the Communist Party as a "deviationist"?

Mr. Ross. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or to violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused. The committee will stand in recess for 10 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will please come to order.

Counsel, call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Clarence Sharp, come forward, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. SHARP. I do.

**TESTIMONY OF CLARENCE H. SHARP, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL,
GEORGE STEVENSON**

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your full name and residence for the record, please?

Mr. SHARP. Clarence H. Sharp. I live at 2630 Colfax, South Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. SHARP. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record?

Mr. STEVENSON. George Stevenson, 1625 Park Avenue, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth, Mr. Sharp?

Mr. SHARP. Bristol, South Dakota, July 26, 1891.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. This is a preliminary foundation question and it does not involve your rights, so I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

The CHAIRMAN. For reasons I indicated, namely, that it could not have any such effect, following Supreme Court decisions that I should warn you of that ruling, I direct you to answer the question.

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Sharp, Mr. Boehnke testified that you were formerly the chairman of the district executive committee of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party; that you were apparently expelled from the Communist Party and removed from the chairmanship of the party for failure effectively to carry out a party order to arrange for Frank Wilkinson's speaking engagement in Minneapolis during March of 1962. Were you then expelled from the Communist Party?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you as of now a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate

my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been reinstated in the Communist Party?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the ground that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I have before me a leaflet titled "Here Are The Facts; What Do you Think?" which Mr. Boehnke testified was circulated on your behalf by an anonymous "Committee of Four." The statement states that, and referring to you, Clarence Sharp:

Recently he was removed from the chairmanship of the Communist Party for the States of Minnesota, North and South Dakota,

and then the statement follows,

He was purged because he dared criticize Secretary Sam K. Davis, who spear-headed the vicious movement for Sharp's ouster as chairman. Sharp has even been threatened with expulsion altogether from the Party if he fails to admit to Davis his guilt and apologize for his mistakes. * * *¹

This article, at least at the time it was circulated, indicated you had been disciplined to the extent of being removed from your office in the party and that you were merely threatened with expulsion unless you apologized for your guilt. Now, did you make any apology?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. No further questions of this witness, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Sharp, one of the techniques, methods, of the Communist Party well known to us and, I think, to you, frankly, is that when a member deviates from the party line or acts in a way contrary to accepted procedure, he must submit to what is called self-criticism openly or before a committee. Now, as counsel pointed out to you, it is our information, and we have means of getting information, that you were expelled from the Communist Party by Sam Davis last year for refusing to indulge in self-criticism. Is that true? Is our information correct?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the ground that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, as I indicated to the previous witness, and it would fall in the same category, namely, we have fairly admitted for the record that our information is that you are no longer a member since last year for the reasons I have stated, and it has happened in the past that prospective witnesses who, in discussions with our investigators, tell us they are willing to recant and are anxious to talk and supply information to the benefit of the Government but, at the last minute, appear and invoke the fifth amendment; and we are aware that in specific cases—I am telling you what I know—that this, in some instances, has resulted from pressure by party members or appropriate representatives.

¹ See Boehnke Exhibit No. 5, p. 1769.

Now I want to ask you in all frankness: Have you been pressured into invoking the fifth amendment, which you may, we don't deny that right, because of pressure brought on you, particularly as to questions dealing with you, relating from the period since your expulsion in 1963? That is my question. Have you been pressured into invoking the fifth amendment?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. As you well know, you and all the witnesses who have thus far appeared, as well as those not summoned and not subpoenaed, were afforded an opportunity, nonpublic, confidential, to appear before the committee voluntarily to answer questions regarding things that would be revealed in public. You were afforded that opportunity to appear yesterday morning at 9 o'clock in another room here, were you not?

Mr. SHARP. Yes.

The CHAIRMAN. You didn't avail yourself of that, is that right?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the ground that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. I am going to take a shot again, because sometimes it works. We have passed a law for that purpose, that whatever fear a former member might have which compels him, in his own conscience and under his own rights, to invoke the provisions of the fifth amendment, that we can remove that fear under an act of Congress by giving immunity so that there would be no fear—fear of prosecution or self-incrimination or whatever. If we should undertake such a procedure and thus give you an opportunity to speak freely, would you do that?

Mr. SHARP. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may tend to incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Chairman, perhaps the witness doesn't want to make up his mind on that at this time. I would only ask the witness to confer with his attorney and perhaps he would be willing to contact the chairman in regard to immunity at a later date.

The CHAIRMAN. Yes, I should have said that. I stated it to the last witness.

Keep it in mind. You are at liberty to do what you want, but if ever you would be of that mind, we would be glad to talk to you, and I think, we believe, honestly believe, that you have much information that you could give us if you cared to avail yourself of that route, so think about it.

The witness is excused.

The committee will stand in recess in connection with the public hearing here until tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 5:55 p.m. Thursday, June 25, 1964, the subcommittee recessed to reconvene at 9 a.m., Friday, June 26, 1964.)

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1964

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE OF THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Minneapolis, Minn.
PUBLIC HEARINGS

The subcommittee of the Committee on Un-American Activities met, pursuant to recess, at 9 a.m. in Courtroom No. 2 of the United States Courthouse Building, Minneapolis, Minn., Hon. Edwin E. Willis (chairman) presiding.

(Subcommittee members: Representatives Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; Richard H. Ichord, of Missouri; George F. Senner, Jr., of Arizona; Donald C. Bruce, of Indiana; and Henry C. Schadeberg, of Wisconsin.)

Subcommittee members present: Representatives Willis, Ichord, Senner, Bruce, and Schadeberg.

Committee member also present: Representative John M. Ashbrook, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Francis J. McNamara, director; Alfred M. Nittle and William Hitz, counsel; and Neil E. Wettermann and Philip R. Manuel, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will please come to order. Counsel will call his first witness.

Mr. NITTLE. John Forichette, come forward, please.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN EDWARD FORICHETTE, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOSEPH PERRY

Mr. NITTLE. Would you please state your full name and residence for the record?

Mr. FORICHETTE. John Forichette, 1025 Knox Avenue North, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you spell your last name?

Mr. FORICHETTE. F-o-r-i-c-h-e-t-t-e.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. FORICHETTE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. PERRY. Joseph Perry, 516 New York Building, St. Paul 1, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forichette, you have stated your full name to be John Forichette. Do you have a middle name?

Mr. FORICHETTE. Yes.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your middle name?

Mr. FORICHETTE. Edward.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you used any name other than John Edward Forichette?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the U.S. Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you used the name John William Forichette?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. I don't think that that answer is proper. I see no possible such result, and therefore I must direct you to answer the question.

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forichette, in applications for examination with the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission, you have stated your date and place of birth to be May 31, 1926, at Rochester, Minnesota. How could the fact of your birth in the United States possibly incriminate you?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you not presently employed by the city of Minneapolis as an assistant to the city engineer?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. How could your employment by the city of Minneapolis possibly incriminate you?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forichette, were you in the hearing room during the course of these hearings and did you hear the testimony of Ruthann Withrow and Norman Boehnke?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, both Miss Withrow and Mr. Boehnke testified under oath that they knew you to be an active member of the Communist Party in the Minneapolis area. Were you a member of the Communist Party during the period 1958 to 1963, which was the period covered by their testimony?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you first become a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate to the committee the extent of your formal education?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forichette, I hand you a copy, a photostatic copy, of a 1953 application for examination of the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission. It is marked for identification as "Forichette Exhibit No. 1."

In this application a "John William Forichette" makes application for the position of junior clerk, No. 4606, typist. The signature of "John W. Forichette" is appended to the application in an affidavit swearing to the truth of the statements contained in the application. The affidavit appears to have been taken to those statements and your signature and affidavit on January 29, 1953.

Would you please examine the signature of John W. Forichette on the last page of the application and tell the committee, please, whether that is your signature?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit 1 in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. The exhibit will be received at this point.

(Document marked "Forichette Exhibit No. 1." See pp. 1886-1889.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forichette, I hand you a photostatic copy of a 1960 application for examination of the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission. It is marked for identification as "Forichette Exhibit No. 2." In this application a "John Edward Forichette" makes application for the position of engineer aid 1, No. 5802.

Do you identify the signature "John E. Forichette" appended to the affidavit of the application?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit 2 in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. The exhibit will be received in evidence.

(Document marked "Forichette Exhibit No. 2." See pp. 1890-1893.)

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forichette, I want to direct your attention in both exhibits to the bold print toward the lower part of the last page where the statement is contained:

In order that this application may be received and further acted upon it is necessary that the applicant subscribe to the following oath before a notary public or other officer authorized by law to administer oaths.

Now, the required oath to which reference was just made reads as follows:

I, the undersigned applicant, being first duly sworn, upon oath declare that I have carefully read the several answers and statements by me made in this application, and that the same are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that I have read and fully understand the foregoing waiver and release and have voluntarily subscribed my name thereto.

Did you execute that oath in Exhibit 1 before H. W. Kirchner, a notary public, as indicated?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. As to Exhibit 2, did you execute the oath before Crystal Halverson, a notary public, as indicated?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. As noted, the name you gave in your 1953 application to the city of Minneapolis was John Edward Forichette. In your 1960 application you make application under the name of John William Forichette.

Now, would you please tell the committee whether your correct name is John Edward Forichette or John William Forichette, and why you used the name of John Edward Forichette in one application and the name of John William Forichette in the second application?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I want a correction made for the record. The first application was John William and the second was John Edward, just the reverse of what I asked.

With that correction, Mr. Forichette, I repeat the question. Is your answer the same?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Now, I want to direct your attention to question 12 of Exhibit 2, your 1960 application, in which you are asked: "Have you filed an application for a Minneapolis Civil Service Examination before?" and to which you have responded in your application under oath "No."

Why did you not inform the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission of your prior application under the name of John William Forichette?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee must go into executive session, but will be back in a matter of minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel will proceed.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forichette, I now direct your attention to question 14 of Exhibit 2, the 1960 application, where you were asked the question:

Are you a member of any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States?

It appears upon the application that you answered "No" to that question under oath.

Was your response to question 14 a truthful one?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Likewise, in response to question 14 on Exhibit 1, you answered "No" to the same question under oath.

Was your answer a truthful one?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I also direct your attention to Exhibit 2 wherein you have listed the name of Hanley Hemmingson as a reference. A Hanley Hemmingson was identified by Mr. Boehnke as a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party.

Is this not the same Hanley Hemmingson that you listed as a reference on that application?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party together with Hanley Hemmingson?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I now hand you a photostatic copy of a 1961 application for examination of the Minneapolis Civil Service Commission, marked for identification as "Forichette Exhibit No. 3." In this application a "John Edward Forichette" applies for the position of draftsman 1, No. 6123.

Do you identify the signature "John Forichette" appended to the application as your own?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I offer Exhibit No. 3 in evidence.

The CHAIRMAN. It will be received at this point in evidence.

(Document marked "Forichette Exhibit No. 3" and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. There is no affidavit required to Exhibit 3; the form was apparently altered at that time, but I do refer you to question 14 of Exhibit 3, where you are asked the question:

Are you a member of any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States?

To which question you have replied in the application "No."

Was this a truthful answer to the question?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you executed Exhibits 1, 2, and 3, were you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. At the time you executed Exhibits 1, 2, and 3, did you not, in fact, have personal knowledge and understanding, and did you not believe, that the Communist Party of the United States was a political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you describe the duties which you performed in connection with your city employment?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. As an employee of the engineering department did not your duties place you in contact with, and did you not have access to, the city plans relating to the highway, bridge, water distribution system, sewer, street lightings and signal improvements, and other structures?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. SENNER. Mr. Chairman—Counsel, Witness, I noticed you kind of laughed at that question. Is there something humorous in that question?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I just wanted to state for the record that in the reference to "counsel," Mr. Senner was not referring to committee counsel.

Mr. SENNER. For the record this is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Forichette, have you at any time discussed your duties or the duties required in your city employment, or did you communicate any information acquired in the course of your employment, to any person or persons known to you to be a member or members of the Communist Party?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Let the record show the witness did not smile in response to that question.

Were you ever requested to provide information of your employment to anyone known to you as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified that on becoming a member of the Communist Party he was assigned to the North Side Club and it was at that time that he met you at a closed meeting of the Communist Party. Did you attend closed Communist Party meetings with Mr. Boehnke?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. It is the committee's information that meetings of the North Side Club of the Communist Party, in fact, were held at your residence, 1025 Knox Avenue North. Is this information correct?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was not that address, namely, 1025 Knox Avenue North, the residence also of Hanley and Tania Hemmingson prior to their moving to Warroad, Minnesota?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was the code phrase that "cards were to be played" used to indicate a meeting—that a meeting of the Communist Party was scheduled at your residence?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were Hanley and Tania Hemmingson in attendance with you and Mr. Boehnke at meetings of the Communist Party at your home?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Tania Hemmingson, the wife of Hanley Hemmingson, to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, in 1959, hold the position of treasurer of the Miscellaneous Branch of the Communist Party in Minneapolis?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. To whom did you give the money collected for dues from party members or other financial contributions?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. It is the committee's information that on occasion you have given a full week's pay to the Communist Party. Have you made contributions of your entire city pay check?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, in November 1959, attend a meeting of the State convention of the Communist Party, at which you served as a delegate of the North Side Club of the Communist Party in Minne-

apolis? Testimony to this effect was given by Miss Withrow before the Subversive Activities Control Board. Did you attend that State convention as stated?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified in hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board that during March 1961 you attended a North Side Club meeting, at which time the club membership registered with the national office of the Communist Party in New York City.

Did you complete a registration form to be delivered to the national headquarters?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. It is the committee's information that at a meeting of the North Side Club of the Communist Party at Martin Mackie's residence during March of 1961 you were elected *Worker* secretary. Were you elected to that office at the March 1961 meeting by a total of nine votes?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend a meeting of the Communist Party in St. Paul during June of 1961 at the residence of Rose Tillotson Renaud, at which, according to Mr. Boehnke's testimony before the Subversive Activities Control Board, Communist Party members of the Twin Cities were to receive instructions as to how to respond to the June 5, 1961, decision of the United States Supreme Court which upheld the order of the Board requiring the Communist Party to register in accordance with the provisions of the Internal Security Act of 1950? Did you attend that meeting at Rose Tillotson Renaud's which I have described rather fully in my question?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was not that particular meeting addressed by Carl Winter, a member of the National Executive Committee of the Communist Party of the United States, headquarters at New York City?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified about this meeting and he said that Carl Winter stated that the world knows how "rotten and dirty the United States really is" and that the "comrades have nothing to fear from the anti-communist ruling of the Supreme Court, for behind them stands the power and might of the Soviet Union."

Did Carl Winter say that in addressing the meeting at which you were in attendance?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Just prior to the commencement of that meeting at the home of Rose Tillotson Renaud, Mr. Boehnke stated that he heard you tell Ralph W. Taylor, who succeeded Clarence Sharp as chairman of the district executive committee, of your plans to activate certain youth activities to be followed by a political discussion.

Did you say that, did you engage in that conversation with Ralph Taylor and make a statement to that effect?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you then ask Ralph Taylor to assist you in this plan?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you thereafter engage in any activities which had as their objective the indoctrination of youth?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you assigned as a guard at the Communist Party picnic at Lake Minnetonka, September 10, 1961, a picnic sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in attendance at a meeting of the youth organizing branch of the Communist Party held at the residence of Betty Smith in February 1962?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Wasn't a principal subject of discussion at that meeting a revival of Marxist youth organizations in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. In this discussion it was stated that the purpose of establishing such organizations was for contacting those "youth that have left-wing leanings, organize them, for upon them will fall the

future of the Communist Party of the United States," and was it not also stated, "It takes a very long time to train them," and that "the need for selling the Party to the youth is all the more urgent now."

Was that discussion in connection with plans for recruiting youth made at that particular meeting?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified before the Subversive Activities Control Board that Betty Smith stated she had been released from her other obligations by the city committee of the Communist Party in Minneapolis so that she could devote her full time to organizing the youth movement which would meet in groups of two or three as was the pattern being followed by all other clubs.

Was Mr. Boehnke's testimony an accurate account of what was said and discussed at that meeting?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not in attendance at a Communist Party meeting at Betty Smith's residence in March of 1962 at which time she stated that the State board of the Communist Party would be comprised of Rose Renaud as secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District, and Ralph Taylor as chairman?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. At this meeting were not the names of Rose Renaud and Ralph W. Taylor given to the members in attendance by noting them on a piece of paper which was passed around, because, as Mrs. Smith stated, the names would not fall into the hands of the FBI in case her residence was bugged?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend a Communist Party meeting in September of 1962, as testified to by Mr. Boehnke, the purpose of said meeting being a discussion to find means on how to further the aims of the Communist movement in North Dakota? Did you attend a Communist Party meeting in September of 1962 for the purpose of furthering the aims of the Communist movement in North Dakota?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not subsequently in October of 1962 in attendance at a Communist Party meeting at which Arnold Johnson, currently the public relations director of the Communist Party in the United States, a member of the national committee, was present?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. At this October 1962 meeting with a national officer of the Communist Party in attendance, did not Ralph Taylor give a report on his trip to North Dakota?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of Arnold Johnson's visit to the Minnesota area on that occasion?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it one of his purposes to be there to instruct the members of the Minnesota-Dakotas District as to the position they should take in the forthcoming elections?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you present at a meeting of the Communist Party at Betty Smith's residence in December of 1962, at which time Mrs. Smith criticized the leadership of the Communist Party on the ground that the various clubs were not meeting and functioning "the way they should"?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend a youth conference in Chicago with Miss Withrow during the latter part of 1960, at which time the forming of a new youth group of the Communist Party was discussed?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to this conference in Chicago, had you had discussions with Danny Rubin, also known as Mortimer Daniel Rubin, the national youth director of the Communist Party, concerning the youth situation in Minneapolis and St. Paul?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Danny Rubin?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee possesses information that Danny Rubin was a guest at your residence during one of his visits to Minneapolis. Is this information correct?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell the committee, please, how many youths in the Minneapolis-St. Paul area you have personally contacted with the intent of interesting them and then recruiting them into the Communist Party?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now, as of this moment, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been instructed by Communist Party functionaries to invoke the fifth amendment in response to questions of this committee?

Mr. FORICHETTE. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, and sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. The witness is excused.

(Documents marked "Forichette Exhibit Nos. 1 and 2," respectively, follow.)

FORICHETTE EXHIBIT No. 1

MINNEAPOLIS CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION
169 CITY HALL

DATE RECEIVED

MAY 29 1946 2 09 PM

APPLICATION FOR EXAMINATION

IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS:

Read the public notice relating to this examination and make sure that you have complied with all the requirements.

Answer ALL questions in INK or on a TYPEWRITER.

Take this blank to the Veterans Registration Bureau for checking unless Minneapolis Veterans Registration is waived in the examination.

False statements made by the applicant are sufficient cause for rejection of an application or the discharge of the employee after appointment.

Be sure to advise the Civil Service Commission of any change of address.

Do not write in the space below

Do not write in the space below

Approved: 1-30-53 MEO E

Rejected: _____

Reason: _____

Remarks: _____

	Date	By
Registration O.K.	<u>Wanted</u>	
Receipt issued	<u>1-29-53</u>	<u>WAK</u>
Application indexed	<u>1-30-53</u>	<u>CA</u>
Rejection notice		
Exam. notice	<u>1-29</u>	<u>mw</u>
Oral notice		
References sent		
Final Average		Rank
Exam. Number	<u>4606</u>	

1. Title of Position: Junior Clerk (Male) (4606) (Type)
2. Name (print): Forichette, John William
Last Name First Name Middle Name
3. Address: 54 1/2 St. NE, Apt. 101, Minneapolis, Minn. Telephone No. DE 2411
4. Since what date have you resided continuously in the City of Minneapolis immediately prior to date of filing: January 14, 1949
Month Day Year
5. Since what date have you resided continuously in the State of Minnesota immediately prior to date of filing: November 27, 1946
Month Day Year
6. Are you a citizen of the United States? Yes
Must present proof of citizenship with application if foreign born
7. I was born: May 31, 1926 Rockford, Minnesota
Month Day Year City State Country (if foreign)
8. Age: 26 Sex (check): Male (☒) Female ()
Last Birthday BIRTH CERTIFICATE O K
9. What is your height? Feet: Five Inches: Seven Weight: 140 Pounds.
In bare feet Stripped
10. Check: Married (); Single (☒) Widowed (); Divorced (); Separated ().
11. Are you in good health? Yes Have you any physical infirmity or deformity that would in any way disqualify you from the full discharge of the duties of the position to which you seek employment? Explain: None
12. Have you filed an application for a Minneapolis Civil Service Examination before? No When and for what position? _____

FORICHETTE EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

13. Have you ever been arrested? *No* Yes or No *Arrest?* Include each offense
Where? *_____* city or town Nature of offense *_____*
Disposition of case by Police or Court *_____*
Full explanation should accompany application. This question also pertains to all other infractions of the law.
14. Are you a member of any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States? *No* Yes or No If so, name the organization *_____*
15. Have any of your employers ever discharged you? *Yes* Yes or No If so, why? *Because I was ill at the time*
16. Have you ever worked for the City of Minneapolis? *No* Yes or No If so, when and by what department were you employed? *_____*
17. If the position for which you are applying in this application requires a valid license or certificate to practice your trade or profession in the City of Minneapolis, do you possess such a license? *_____* Yes or No
Description of license *_____*
Grade of license *_____* No of license *_____* Date issued *_____* If position requires registration give Registration No. *_____* State *_____*

Education: In space below give a complete outline of your education and training including dates.
If more space is needed attach additional sheets.

Grade	Name and Address of School	Circle Highest Grade Finished	Date Entered	Date Left	
High School	Highfield High School Columbia, Missouri	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	1932	1940	Did you finish the regular course? <i>Yes</i>
High School	Highfield High School Columbia, Missouri	1 2 3 4	1940	1944	Did you graduate? <i>Yes</i>
College	Worthington Junior College Wetzel, Missouri	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	Sept. 1947	June 1949	Major subject: <i>Law</i> Minor subject: <i>History</i> Did you graduate? <i>Yes</i> Degree received: _____
Post Graduate					Courses taken: _____ Degree received: _____
Business School	University Business School University of Minnesota	—	June 1950	Mar. 1951	Courses taken: <i>grad. Pol.</i> Did you complete course? <i>No</i>
Correspondence or Extension or Other Training					Courses taken: _____ Number of credits received: _____
Trade School	Graphic Arts Education Foundation Inc. - 1124 Cornie Ave. N.Y.C.	—	April 1951	Nov. 1951	Courses taken: <i>Graphic Setting</i>
Other Training	University Law School U. of Minn.	—	June 1949	May 1950	Courses taken: <i>Law</i>

FORICHETTE EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

19. Experience

Beginning with your PRESENT or MOST RECENT employment or occupation, list in reverse order all of your work history. It is NECESSARY to give COMPLETE information. Give all facts for all part time positions. (If a trade give length of time and place as apprentice, as journeyman, as master.) IF MORE SPACE IS NEEDED ATTACH ADDITIONAL SHEETS USING THE SAME HEADINGS AS SHOWN BELOW FOR EACH POSITION.

Employer: <i>D.M.C. Trucks & Coach Rep.</i>	Employment Period Give exact dates From <i>7-6-52</i>	Salary per month Highest <i>\$216.</i>	Reason for leaving (Be specific) <i>Left for...</i>
Address: <i>88 Glenwood Ave.</i>	To <i>7-27-52</i>	Lowest <i>same</i>	<i>care of...</i>
City and State: <i>Mpls., Minn.</i>	Total months <i>1</i>	Present <i>same</i>	<i>my illness.</i>
Type of business: <i>Auto Repair</i>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Position held: <i>Supply Clerk</i>			
Duties: <i>Accounted for inventory, filled orders from stock</i>			
No. persons supervised: <i>None</i>			
Employer: <i>S.B. White Print. & Sign Co.</i>	Employment Period Give exact dates From <i>1-15-52</i>	Salary per month Highest <i>\$200.00</i>	Reason for leaving (Be specific) <i>Discharged</i>
Address: <i>1402 1 Ave. S.E.</i>	To <i>6-2-52</i>	Lowest <i>same</i>	<i>because of</i>
City and State: <i>Mpls., Minn.</i>	Total months	Last <i>same</i>	<i>tardiness.</i>
Type of business: <i>Rental Equipment</i>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Position held: <i>Supply Clerk</i>			
Duties: <i>Answer calls of phone, fill orders, price goods, etc.</i>			
No. persons supervised: <i>None</i>			
Employer: <i>University of Minn. & S. Minn.</i>	Employment Period Give exact dates From <i>6-49</i>	Salary per month Highest <i>\$52.00</i>	Reason for leaving (Be specific) <i>Completion of</i>
Address: <i>Univ. of Minnesota</i>	To <i>1-51</i>	Lowest <i>same</i>	<i>scholarship training.</i>
City and State: <i>Mpls., Minn.</i>	Total months	Last <i>same</i>	
Type of business: <i>Household Appliances</i>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Position held: <i>Inv. by & janitor</i>			
Duties: <i>Distributing & cleaning diet kitchen, washed dishes & cleaned a</i>			
No. persons supervised: <i>none</i>			<i>section of dormitory. (Part time - intermittent)</i>
Employer: <i>Worthington Lath & Sheet</i>	Employment Period Give exact dates From <i>9-47</i>	Salary per month Highest <i>\$100.00</i>	Reason for leaving (Be specific) <i>to devote more</i>
Address: <i>Worthington, Minnesota</i>	To <i>5-48</i>	Lowest <i>same</i>	<i>time for college.</i>
City and State: <i>—</i>	Total months	Last <i>same</i>	
Type of business: <i>News paper publisher</i>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Position held: <i>Caster</i>			
Duties: <i>Creating casts, adjusting temperatures of lead & pouring on mats,</i>			
No. persons supervised: <i>None</i>			
Employer: <i>Jess Field</i>	Employment Period Give exact dates From <i>6-42</i>	Salary per month Highest <i>\$192.00</i>	Reason for leaving (Be specific) <i>to join the</i>
Address: <i>Lakefield</i>	To <i>1-45</i>	Lowest <i>\$100.00</i>	<i>Army.</i>
City and State: <i>Minnesota</i>	Total months	Last <i>\$192.00</i>	
Type of business: <i>Baking</i>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Position held: <i>delivered bread</i>			
Duties: <i>Delivered bread to stores, kept store acct., cleaned Baking Equip.</i>			
No. persons supervised: <i>None</i>			
Employer: <i>Jess Field</i>	Employment Period Give exact dates From <i>1-46</i>	Salary per month Highest <i>\$225.00</i>	Reason for leaving (Be specific) <i>to go to</i>
Address: <i>Lakefield</i>	To <i>9-1-47</i>	Lowest <i>same</i>	<i>My father's</i>
City and State: <i>Minnesota</i>	Total months	Last <i>same</i>	<i>illness.</i>
Type of business: <i>Baking</i>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Position held: <i>Asst. Baker</i>			
Duties: <i>Mold bread, cut cookies, rolled & cut rolls, adjust oven & baked.</i>			
No. persons supervised: <i>None</i>			

COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA 1889

FORICHETTE EXHIBIT No. 1—Continued

20. Indicate here any time during the past ten years not accounted for above. Give reasons such as unemployment, illness, and study. Give specific dates.

Illness 7-28-52 to Present 1-15-53

Unemp. 1-17-45 to 11-21-46

Unemp. 8-48 to 6-49

21. Describe any additional information or training and experience you have which in your opinion qualifies you for the position for which this application is made.

22. Give the names of five reliable persons to whom the Commission can refer, who are sufficiently familiar with your qualifications and character to give information about you. Persons who have had experience should give the names of at least three former employers or supervisors.

NAME	Present Address	Telephone number	Position and relation to your work
<i>Hamlin Hogander</i>	<i>503 N. 22 St.</i>	<i>KR. 7947</i>	<i>Friend - no relation</i>
<i>William Fox</i>	<i>412 Texas Ave.</i>	<i>HA 6123</i>	<i>Sgt. at Post -</i>
<i>Bill Haise</i>	<i>3307 St. 16 Ave</i>	<i>DR. 1934</i>	<i>Barber - friend</i>
<i>Jess Field</i>	<i>St. Paul, Minn.</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>Barber - employer</i>
<i>Mr. Haise</i>	<i>Northington, Minn.</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>Mag. & owner of paper - employer</i>

23. If you ARE NOT willing to have us ask your present employer about your work, check here ().

24. If you have worked under any OTHER NAME than that given on this application indicate name here.

BEFORE SIGNING THIS APPLICATION, READ CAREFULLY THE FOLLOWING WAIVER

As a part of this application and in consideration of being permitted to take the examination for the position herein applied for, including such practical tests as the Civil Service Commission shall deem necessary to determine my physical fitness and eligibility, I, the undersigned applicant, do hereby voluntarily release, relinquish, and forever discharge the City of Minneapolis, its agents, officers and employees from any and all claims, demands, or causes of action for any damage or injury that I might sustain in connection with or by reason of my participating in said examination and do hereby voluntarily assume all risks in connection therewith.

John W. Forichette
Applicant's Signature

IN ORDER THAT THIS APPLICATION MAY BE RECEIVED AND FURTHER ACTED UPON IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE APPLICANT SUBSCRIBE TO THE FOLLOWING OATH BEFORE A NOTARY PUBLIC OR OTHER OFFICER AUTHORIZED BY LAW TO ADMINISTER OATHS:

STATE OF MINNESOTA } so.
COUNTY OF HENNEPIN }

I, the undersigned applicant, being first duly sworn, upon oath declare that I have carefully read the several answers and statements by me made in this application, and that the same are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that I have read and fully understand the foregoing waiver and release and have voluntarily subscribed my name thereto.

John W. Forichette
Applicant's Signature

W. W. PITCHNER
Signature of Officer

Notary Public, Ramsey County, Minn.

Notary Public Expires April 15, 1954

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 28th day of January, 1953

(SEAL)

By commission expires (Date)

1890 COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

FORICHETTE EXHIBIT No. 2

MINNEAPOLIS CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION

139 CITY HALL

DATE RECEIVED

11 11 25 1960

APPLICATION FOR EXAMINATION

IMPORTANT INSTRUCTIONS:

Read the public notice relating to this examination and make sure that you have complied with all the requirements.

Answer ALL questions in INK or on a TYPEWRITER.

Take this blank to the Voters Registration Bureau for checking unless Minneapolis Voters Registration is waived in the examination.

False statements made by the applicant are sufficient cause for rejection of an application or the discharge of the employee after appointment.

Be sure to advise the Civil Service Commission of any change of address.

Do not write in the space below.

	DATE	By
Registration O.K.	3-14-60	JA
Receipt issued	3-14-60	EH
Application indexed	3-15-60	mp
Rejection notice		
Exam. notice	4-2-60	MP
Civil service		
Reference sent	4-2-60	1-6
Final Average	85.08	Rank 8
Exam. Number	55802	

Do not write in the space below

Approved	4/25/60	MP
Rejected		
Reason		
Remarks		

1. Title of Position ENGINEER AID I (5872) 2-28-60
2. Name (print) Forichette Last Name John First Name Edward Middle Name
3. Address 1710 Hawthorn N. Telephone No. _____
4. Since what date have you resided continuously in the City of Minneapolis immediately prior to date of filing July 12, 1949
Month _____ Day _____ Year _____
5. Since what date have you resided continuously in the State of Minnesota immediately prior to date of filing May 31, 1926
Month _____ Day _____ Year _____
6. Are you a citizen of the United States? yes
7. I was born May 31 1926
Month _____ Day _____ Year _____
8. Age 33 Sex (check); Male (X) Female ()
Last Birthday _____
9. What is your height? Feet 5 Inches 7.5 Weight 130 Pounds.
In bare feet _____ Stripped _____
10. Check: Married (); Single (X); Widowed (); Divorced (); Separated ().
11. Are you in good health? yes Have you any physical infirmity or deformity that would in any way disqualify you from the full discharge of the duties of the position to which you seek employment? Explain _____
12. Have you filed an application for a Minneapolis Civil Service Examination before? no When and for what position? _____

Form CSC-4

Please indicate how, where or from whom you first learned of this position
(Friend, City Employee, Newspaper Ad, our Bulletin Board Etc.) _____

POSITION	DATES	CHARGES	DISPOSITION OR OTHER REMARKS
<u>Engineering Aid I</u>			
NAME <u>FORICHETTE, John Edward</u>			
ADDRESS <u>1710 Hawthorne Ave. No.</u>			
Arrests: (No)			
BIRTHDATE <u>5-31-26</u>			
			<u>5-8-55</u> <u>Arrested 10-14-54</u> <u>1-15-56</u> <u>Sp. Mail - Assault</u> <u>12-27-56</u> <u>Warn. Parking 2-14-57</u>
			CHECKED AT IDENTIFICATION BUREAU BY <u>Law</u>

FORICHETTE EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

13. Have you ever been arrested? no When? _____
 Yes or No _____ Include each offense _____
 Where? _____ City or town _____ Nature of offense _____
 Disposition of case by Police or Court _____

Full explanation should accompany application. This question also pertains to all minor infractions of the law.

14. Are you a member of any political party or organization which advocates the overthrow of our constitutional form of government in the United States? no If so, name the organization _____
 Yes or No _____
15. Have any of your employers ever discharged you? no If so, why? _____
16. Have you ever worked for the City of Minneapolis? no If so, when and by what department were you employed? _____
17. If the position for which you are applying in this application requires a valid license or certificate to practice your trade or profession in the City of Minneapolis, do you possess such a license? _____
 Yes or No _____
 Description of license _____
 Grade of license _____ No. of license _____ Date issued _____ If position requires registration
 give Registration No. _____ State _____
18. Education: In space below give a complete outline of your education and training including dates. If more space is needed attach additional sheets.

	Name and Address of School	Circle Highest Grade Finished	Date Entered	Date Left	
Grade School	Lakefield public highschool	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	9-1940	6-1944	Did you finish the regular course? <u>yes</u>
High School	same	1 2 3 4			Did you graduate? <u>yes</u>
College	Worthington Jr. College	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	9-1947	6-49	Major subject <u>Lib. Arts</u> Minor subject _____ Did you graduate? <u>yes</u> Degree received _____
Post Graduate					Courses taken: _____ Degree received _____
Business School					Course taken: _____ Did you complete course? _____
Correspondence or Extension or Other Training					Courses taken: _____ Number of credits received _____
Trade School	Dunwoody Industrial Institute		9-1953	5-1960	Courses taken: <u>highway & Surveying</u>
Other Training					Courses taken: _____

1892 COMMUNIST ACTIVITIES IN THE MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., AREA

FORICHETTE EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

19. Experience:

Beginning with your PRESENT or MOST RECENT employment or occupation, list in reverse order all of your work history. It is NECESSARY to give COMPLETE information. Give all facts for all part time positions. (If a trade give length of time and place as apprentice, as journeyman, as master). IF MORE SPACE IS NEEDED ATTACH ADDITIONAL SHEETS USING THE SAME HEADINGS AS SHOWN BELOW FOR EACH POSITION.

Employer <u>student</u>	Employment Period Give exact dates	Salary per month	Reason for leaving (be specific)
Address <u>Dunwoody Industrial</u>	From	Highest	
City and State <u>Institute</u>	To	Lowest	
Type of business <u>Sept. 1953</u>	Total months	Present	
Position held <u>to May 1960</u>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Duties			
No. persons supervised			

Employer <u>Epis. Honeywell Regulate</u>	Employment Period Give exact dates	Salary per month	Reason for leaving (be specific)
Address <u>Minneapolis, Minn.</u>	From <u>4-1956</u>	Highest <u>1.72</u>	layoff due
City and State	To <u>10-56</u>	Lowest <u>1.47</u>	to completion
Type of business	Total months <u>6</u>	Last <u>1.72</u>	of contract
Position held <u>Inspector</u>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Duties <u>quality control on assembly line</u>			
No. persons supervised <u>none</u>			

Employer <u>American Holst & Larrick</u>	Employment Period Give exact dates	Salary per month	Reason for leaving (be specific)
Address <u>43 Roberts St. (ex-51)</u>	From <u>5-55</u>	Highest <u>240</u>	layoff
City and State <u>St. Paul</u>	To <u>7-56</u>	Lowest	
Type of business <u>manufacturing</u>	Total months <u>25</u>	Last <u>250</u>	
Position held <u>Process Analyst</u>	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Duties <u>gathered and computed tire data for scheduling of materials</u>			
No. persons supervised <u>none</u>			

Employer <u>Associated Packaging</u>	Employment Period Give exact dates	Salary per month	Reason for leaving (be specific)
Address <u>421 2nd St N</u>	From <u>5-53</u>	Highest <u>225</u>	layoff
City and State <u>Epis. Minn</u>	To <u>4-55</u>	Lowest <u>220</u>	
Type of business <u>packing</u>	Total months <u>23</u>	Last <u>225</u>	
Position held	Full Time () Part Time ()		
Duties <u>fill hopper with product to be packaged, help on assembly line</u>			
No. persons supervised <u>none</u>			

Employer <u>Cook Paint & Varnish Co.</u>	Employment Period Give exact dates	Salary per month	Reason for leaving (be specific)
Address <u>Chicago & Franklin</u>	From <u>7-49</u>	Highest <u>215</u>	quit
City and State <u>Epis., Minn.</u>	To <u>5-53</u>	Lowest <u>190</u>	dissatisfied with
Type of business <u>selling paint</u>	Total months <u>44</u>	Last <u>215</u>	the type of work
Position held <u>sales clerk</u>	Full Time (X) Part Time ()		
Duties <u>sell paint, wallpaper, varnish</u>			
No. persons supervised <u>none</u>			

X Employer <u>Minn. Highway Dept.</u>	Employment Period Give exact dates	Salary per month	Reason for leaving (be specific)
Address <u>2055 Lilac drive</u>	From <u>6-22-59</u>	Highest <u>281</u>	to finish
City and State <u>Epis, 22, Minn.</u>	To <u>8-28-59</u>	Lowest	training at
Type of business <u>Trainee</u>	Total months <u>2</u>	Last <u>281</u>	Dunwoody
Position held	Full Time (X) Part Time ()		
No. persons supervised <u>POC</u>			
Duties <u>ran, chairman, limited use of transit as driving line</u>			

FORICHETTE EXHIBIT No. 2—Continued

20. Indicate here any time during the past ten years not accounted for above. Give reasons such as unemployment, illness, and study. Give specific dates.

10-55 to 9-58 unemployed

9-47 to 5-49 attended Worthington Junior College

1-45 to 11-45 Army

21. Describe any additional information or training and experience you have which in your opinion qualifies you for the position for which this application is made.

18 months at Dunwoody and 2 months working for the State highway dept.

22. Give the names of five reliable persons to whom the Commission can refer, who are sufficiently familiar with your qualifications and character to give information about you. Persons who have had experience, should give the names of at least three former employers or supervisors.

NAME	Present Address	Telephone number	Position and relation to your work
Mr. George Welch	State highway Dept	L1 5-3761	employer
Mr. John E. Hansen	Dunwoody Ind. Inst.		Dept. Head
Mrs. Muriel	63 N 12 St	Ja 4-4417	business friend
Mr. Harley Haringaen	1025 Knox Ave	Ja 2-5855	contractor
Lionel Davis	4421 4 Ave So	Ta 5-4362	none music teacher

23. If you ARE NOT willing to have us ask your present employer about your work, check here ().

24. If you have worked under any OTHER NAME than that given on this application indicate name here:

Last Name

First Name

Middle Name

BEFORE SIGNING THIS APPLICATION, READ CAREFULLY THE FOLLOWING WAIVER

As a part of this application and in consideration of being permitted to take the examination for the position herein applied for, including such practical tests as the Civil Service Commission shall deem necessary to determine my physical fitness and eligibility, I, the undersigned applicant, do hereby voluntarily release, relinquish, and forever discharge the City of Minneapolis, its agents, officers and employees from any and all claims, demands, or causes of action for any damage or injury that I might sustain in connection with or by reason of my participating in said examination and do hereby voluntarily assume all risks in connection therewith.

Applicant's Signature

IN ORDER THAT THIS APPLICATION MAY BE RECEIVED AND FURTHER ACTED UPON IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE APPLICANT SUBSCRIBE TO THE FOLLOWING OATH BEFORE A NOTARY PUBLIC OR CLERK OFFICER AUTHORIZED BY LAW TO ADMINISTER OATHS:

STATE OF MINNESOTA
COUNTY OF HENNEPIN } ss.

I, the undersigned applicant, being first duly sworn, upon oath declare that I have carefully read the foregoing questions and statements made in this application, and that the same are true to the best of my knowledge and belief, and that I have read and fully understood the foregoing waiver and release and have voluntarily subscribed my name thereto.

Applicant's Signature

Subscribed and sworn to before me this 14th day of June

Signature of Officer

(SEAL)

My commission expires (Date)

The CHAIRMAN. Call your next witness, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Norman J. Boehnke please come forward?

Mr. CHAIRMAN. The witness has already been sworn and it was announced that he would return, so it is not necessary to swear him again.

Proceed.

TESTIMONY OF NORMAN JOHN BOEHNKE—Resumed

Mr. NITTLE. For the purpose of the record, will you state your name?

Mr. BOEHNKE. My name is Norman John Boehnke.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke, are you acquainted with John Howard Tillotson?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. What is his occupation?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, when I met John he was a student at the University of Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. And when did you meet him?

Mr. BOEHNKE. It was in early 1962. We had a youth branch meeting of the North Side Club scheduled at the Borchardt's residence and I was to pick up Betty Smith. As I arrived at the Smith residence John Forichette was there—I mean John Howard Tillotson was there—and I was introduced to Mr. Tillotson by Betty Smith as one of the faithful members, and Betty Smith then suggested to Mr. Tillotson that he should come along to the Borchardt residence to hear a tape recording speech by Herbert Aptheker.

Mr. NITTLE. At this point, I understand, you stated that you were introduced to him by Betty Smith—

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. —at her residence, Betty Smith, whom you have identified as a member of the district executive committee?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the introduction that was given?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, I was introduced to Mr. Tillotson by Betty Smith as a faithful and loyal member.

Mr. NITTLE. That is, you were described to him as a "faithful and loyal member"?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. I think you last testified that the suggestion was made that he come along to the Ernest Borchardt residence for this meeting.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Ernest Borchardt whom you have identified as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct; and he declined on the grounds that if he did go it would perhaps become too obvious that he had association with the Communist Party. And for that reason he did not attend.

Mr. NITTLE. What happened after that?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, we left for the Borchardt residence, Betty Smith, and John Tillotson also rode with us part of the way. We left him off at Tenth and Olsen Highway, North Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. Then did you and Betty Smith go on to the meeting at the Borchardt residence?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, we did.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you then have a conversation with Betty Smith relating to John Howard Tillotson?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Betty Smith then described Mr. Tillotson as being a hard worker for the cause and she recommended to me that I should get in touch with him and work with him, and she also made it very plain that John Tillotson was the channel, or one of the channels, that the Communist Party used to extend its influence and activities at the University of Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you subsequently hear of the activities of John Howard Tillotson?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, we did. It was in the early summer of 1962. We had a club meeting at the Betty Smith residence. John Forichette, Betty Smith, and myself were in attendance, and we discussed the Helsinki youth festival to be held in Helsinki, Finland, and——

Mr. NITTLE. By the way, what was that Helsinki youth festival?

Mr. BOEHNKE. It was a youth meeting that was sponsored by the Socialist countries of the world, including Soviet Russia and Red China.

We were faced with the problem of sending delegates to Helsinki, and two delegates were named, two prospective delegates were named. They were John Howard Tillotson and John Forichette. John Forichette immediately declined on the grounds that he was an employee of the city of Minneapolis.

Mr. NITTLE. I think it may be we should note on the record that when you referred to the Helsinki festival as being staged by the "Socialist" nations you were using Marxist terminology, and by "Socialist" you meant the Communist nations?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. You are not referring to such highly respected countries, which have Socialist systems, such as Sweden?

Mr. BOEHNKE. No.

Mr. NITTLE. This was not sponsored by countries other than Communist countries, is that right?

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. NITTLE. Was any discussion had at that meeting with respect to how the attendance of delegates at the Helsinki youth festival would be met?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, we also discussed the problem of financing the delegates, and it was Betty Smith who then stated that she had instructions that each member was to donate 1 week's salary for this purpose, and John Forichette immediately responded that he would.

Mr. NITTLE. John Howard Tillotson was not in attendance at that particular meeting?

Mr. BOEHNKE. No, he was not.

Mr. NITTLE. To your knowledge was John Tillotson a delegate to the festival from the Minneapolis area?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, he was.

Mr. NITTLE. When did you next hear of him?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, that was in the fall of 1962. We had a meeting at the Rose Tillotson Renaud home, who happens to be the grandmother of John Tillotson, and we had a Communist Party meeting scheduled there that evening, and prior to the meeting getting started

John Howard Tillotson discussed with Betty Smith an article that was, that he had prepared to have printed in the *New Horizons*, which is the official youth organ of the Communist Party.

Mr. NITTLE. Did Betty Smith meet with John Howard Tillotson?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, she did.

Mr. NITTLE. Will you tell us about that?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Well, as I indicated, she talked and discussed with John Howard Tillotson the article that was to be printed in the *New Horizons*. This was prior to the meeting getting started, and again when the meeting started, that is, when the comrade chairman called the meeting into order, John Howard Tillotson again left the meeting and I assume it was for the same reasons that I have previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have any other meetings or contact with him?

Mr. BOEHNKE. No, I did not.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the staff has no further questions of the witness.

Mr. BRUCE. With regard to the question that was asked and your testimony that there was discussion between John Tillotson and Betty Smith about an article that was to appear in *New Horizons*, did such an article ever appear, to your knowledge?

Mr. BOEHNKE. I cannot honestly state whether it did appear or not; I really do not know.

Mr. BRUCE. Thank you.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. Mr. Boehnke, early in your testimony you stated that one of the ways in which you got interested in the party was that you were solicited at your home, at your apartment, for funds.

Mr. BOEHNKE. That is correct.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. By Mr. Barisonzi?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Jack Barisonzi.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. How did he happen to come to your door?

Mr. BOEHNKE. He explained to me that he was in the southeast area of Minneapolis canvassing the area for the purpose that was stated, to solicit funds for Martin Sobell, and one of the reasons he was in southeast Minneapolis area was that it was near to the university and he was interested in contacting students.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. That's all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Boehnke, is there anything else you wish to add?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, there is, Mr. Chairman.

It is generally believed by the public that the Communist Party of the United States is just another political party. However, my experience in the party has given me mounting evidence that it is a party dominated by the Soviet Union.

To give you an example, in 1961, for instance, Sam Davis and Ellen Davis made a trip to the Soviet Union. They brought back films of their trip. I spliced those films and then I had Ellen Davis narrate those films, and as she narrated them she brought out the facts, pointed out the different individuals who were instructors that she attended in the Lenin Institute. So this brings out the fact that the party is foreign controlled, and whenever Communists asked for passports to go to a foreign country there is a reason for it besides just going for a visit.

The CHAIRMAN. Anything else?

Mr. BOEHNKE. And No. 2, the question has been raised why people who have been former Communists do not want to talk. I believe I got part of the answer. We have all heard the testimony of Ruth Gordienko. I was a member of the party when she was publicly identified as having been associated with the FBI. On one occasion, or on a number of occasions, her picture was passed around so that we could all recognize her when we saw her, and the purpose of it was not only to embarrass her but at one time the statement was made that a certain party should place himself in a position where, when she would walk down stairs, she would be pushed.

The CHAIRMAN. Has that person been identified during these hearings, the person who made that statement?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Yes, that person testified yesterday.

The CHAIRMAN. What was his name?

Mr. BOEHNKE. Claude McDonald.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Boehnke, now that you have completed your testimony, I would like to say a few words to you and Ruthann Withrow. I have already commented about Mrs. Gordienko.

The great majority of the citizens of this Nation, and of those in this hearing room, are fully devoted to this country and the principles on which it is founded. Most of us, in some way, give something of ourselves to our country. A few give far more than others. You and Miss Withrow are two of those few.

Both of you could have gone about your way, as so many of us do, concerning yourselves largely with earning a comfortable living, carrying out your basic citizenship duties, and spending your spare time in relaxation and leisure of one kind or another.

In the interest of our Nation's security, you were asked to give up this normal pursuit of happiness, which is a right of every American citizen. You were asked to give it up for an unpleasant, time-consuming job, a job involving self-sacrifice and danger and possible public disgrace and contempt—a job made necessary by the fact that there are those who would destroy our Government and rob the American people of their rights, freedom, and liberties.

You could have said "No" to the request, as so many others have done. It is to your everlasting credit that you said "Yes." By doing so, you proved your willingness to give to and for your country and your neighbors—including even those who would not understand the true significance of your act and would vilify you for it.

I know that, like others who have made the same sacrifice, both of you have already been called names. The epithet "informer" has been hurled at you—and will be hurled at you in the future—by the unthinking, the ignorant, and the evil.

Both of you, I feel sure, have the intelligence and strength of character not to be swayed or dismayed by them. These name callers, by their actions, prove only their inferiority to you, no matter what their station in life may be.

Therefore, speaking not only for myself, but for the committee and the great majority of the American people, I am sure, I congratulate you for the job that you and Miss Withrow have done so well, for the sacrifices you have made for your country and your fellow man. For these things you will always have the appreciation and gratitude of this committee, of the Congress, and, as I say, at least the majority, a large majority, of the American public.

Good luck to you.

Mr. BOEHNKE. Thank you.

(Witness excused.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

The CHAIRMAN. The subcommittee will come to order.

Counsel, call your next witness.

Mr. NITTLE. Would John Howard Tillotson please come forward?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN HOWARD TILLOTSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, JOHN F. EISBERG

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Tillotson, would you please state your full name and residence for the record?

Mr. TILLOTSON. John Howard Tillotson, T-i-l-l-o-t-s-o-n, 403 19th Avenue South, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. TILLOTSON. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. EISBERG. My name is John F. Eisberg, E-i-s-b-e-r-g, 400 Rand Tower, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Tillotson, would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mr. TILLOTSON. June 12, 1943; Aberdeen, South Dakota.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education, giving the dates and places of attendance at educational institutions?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you presently a student at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you enter the University of Minnesota in September, commencing with the September term 1961, and continue there continuously to date?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to that were you graduated from high school?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. I direct you to answer that question. There has been no evidence that would bear along that line. It is preliminary. I think it should be disclosed for the record.

Mr. TILLOTSON. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. How long have you resided at 403 Nineteenth Avenue South in Minneapolis?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever maintained your residence at 628 Jessamine Street, St. Paul?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in attendance on Tuesday when Miss Ruthann Withrow testified in the course of these hearings?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know Miss Ruthann Withrow?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Withrow has testified that you were in attendance in August of 1960 and in the fall of 1960 at functions sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee. Was her testimony correct?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know the Freedom of the Press Committee to be a Communist created and dominated organization at the time of your attendance at the functions related by Miss Withrow?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you then know Ralph Taylor and Rose Renaud to be the leaders of the Freedom of the Press Committee?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you then know Ralph Taylor?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Miss Withrow testified further that you were in attendance at the organizing meeting of a group called the Youth For Political Action which, as Miss Withrow testified, was directed and controlled by members of the Communist Party. Was her testimony correct?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Counsel, I think at this point I should ask this question: Were you in the room when Miss Withrow and Mr. Boehnke testified?

Mr. TILLOTSON. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you were, and I think I should point out, in all fairness, that Miss Withrow and Mr. Boehnke, sticking to obviously their own knowledge and nothing beyond their own knowledge, did not identify you as a member of the Communist Party directly. They did identify you as being on the fringe meetings and as a functionary or a channel or conduit relating to university campus activities. But these questions relate to your knowledge of certain individuals

who have been identified directly as members of the party and are very relevant because it confirms whatever conclusions one might want to draw from these activities of yours that Miss Withrow and Mr. Boehnke testified about; and, furthermore, it is pertinent to these hearings, because one of the purposes of the hearings here in Minneapolis, in Buffalo, and those to follow, is the consideration of the advisability of amending the Internal Security Act so as to impose certain disabilities in the manner and form provided in that act upon those persons affiliated with Communist organizations, as well as upon persons who are members thereof. In other words, there are a lot of different ways that a person can be helpful to the party. Perhaps—perhaps, I say—one of the most helpful ways is to remain in the background, attend functions up to a certain point, and then to retire from the room when perhaps it is advisable to retire, and I am sure counsel will directly relate Mr. Boehnke's testimony about your coming in and out of certain occasions.

I want to describe the pertinency of this evidence. If I have not related it specifically and correctly, counsel, I hope, will supplement it after awhile. In other words, perhaps those of the greatest value to the party are people with affiliations with it who remain on the fringe rather than having direct membership.

Proceed, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of the organization known as Youth For Political Action?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you at that time know that Miss Withrow, John Forichette, and Betty Smith, who were in attendance at that meeting, were members of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. You heard the testimony of Mr. Boehnke in the course of these hearings today and his preliminary testimony?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Was Mr. Boehnke known to you to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified this morning that you were introduced to him at Betty Smith's residence in the fall of, or rather in the early part of 1962, and that at that time, at the time of the introduction, Betty Smith informed you that he was a faithful member of the cause. Was that introduction made to you?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you, at the time you met Mr. Boehnke, know Betty Smith to be a member of the Communist Party and holding an official position on the executive committee of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of your coming to the residence of Betty Smith on that occasion?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you aware that Betty Smith was to attend a meeting subsequently that evening of the North Side youth branch of the Communist Party at the Ernest Borchardt residence?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Ernest Borchardt to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you at the Betty Smith residence with the view of talking to her about youth activities at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not invited to go along to the meeting, that meeting of the North Side Club of the Communist Party at the Ernest Borchardt residence?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you say that you did not wish your connection with the matter to be too obvious?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified that the same evening after you parted company with him and Betty Smith, that Betty Smith told him to utilize you with respect to youth activity and that you were one of the channels that the Communist Party used to extend its influence at the University of Minnesota.

What I should like to ask is whether or not you are knowingly one of the channels of the Communist Party for that purpose?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified that at a meeting of the youth branch of the Communist Party in the early summer of 1962 there was a discussion with respect to your possible attendance at the Helsinki youth festival together with the attendance of John Forichette, and that there was a discussion relating to the financing of this trip.

Now, you did attend the Helsinki youth festival in the summer of 1962; did you not?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. And were you not in attendance at Helsinki as a delegate from the United States?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were the expenses of your attendance there, or any part of them, assumed by the Communist Party of Minneapolis?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. How was your attendance financed there?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend the Helsinki youth festival for the purpose of giving support to the anti-American propaganda objectives of the world Communist movement?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend the youth festival with the purpose of giving direct support to the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Tillotson, if in fact your attendance there was not to support the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union, and you truthfully said that it was not, how could that possibly incriminate you?

Mr. TILLOTSON. Are you asking me a question, Mr. Nittle?

Mr. NITTLE. I think it is a question.

Mr. TILLOTSON. Would you please repeat it?

Mr. NITTLE. The question was if you did not, or rather, if your attendance at the youth festival in Helsinki was not with the purpose of giving support to the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union, and if you truthfully said that it was not to give support to the foreign policy objectives of the Soviet Union, how could such an answer possibly incriminate you?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke also testified that in the fall of 1962 he drove Betty Smith to the home of Rose Renaud. Rose Renaud, as you know, has been identified in the course of these hearings as the secretary of the Minnesota-Dakotas District of the Communist Party. While en route he testified Betty Smith told him that she was to meet with you and others concerning a youth group which was to be active in connection with your campus activities at the university. Mr. Boehnke testified he was not in attendance at the meeting that was scheduled but that subsequently he received information that you did attend this meeting. Did you?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Tillotson, from the testimony that has been produced in this record under oath, it would seem that some of your contacts were with people rather high up in the echelons of the Communist Party in this area and that you didn't function publicly and didn't make appearances as a party member in closed meetings, and so on. Was that your real assignment, to have higher contact, as really a channel as one witness described it, with the university campus activities; was that your real assignment?

Mr. TILLOTSON. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you know Mr. Sam Davis?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

The CHAIRMAN. And I think you were just asked if you knew Mrs. Renaud. [To counsel.] You just asked him that—did you ask him that question?

Do you know Mrs. Renaud?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer that question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke also testified this morning that he was in attendance at a scheduled meeting of the Communist Party in the fall of 1962 at the residence of Rose Renaud. He said that you were present at the residence of Rose Renaud and that you and Betty Smith were discussing an article that was to appear in the publication *New Horizons For Youth*, that you left shortly before the commencement of the meeting of the Communist Party.

Did you have the conference with Betty Smith at the home of Rose Renaud in the fall of 1962 as Mr. Boehnke testified?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you aware that this party meeting was to take place at that time at the home of Rose Renaud?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. And were you in attendance at that time because you knew Betty Smith would be in attendance at that meeting?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. And was not Betty Smith in charge of the youth activities of the North Side cell of the Communist Party and the Communist Party in the Minneapolis area?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Was she not then known to you to be the chairman of the Communist Party Youth Organizing Club?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you advised by some Communist Party functionary that you should skip out before the meeting went formally into session so that you could not be identified as a Communist Party member by reason of the fact that you would be in attendance at a closed party meeting?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you seek to take advantage of that, what you may call a legal technicality, if one exists in this situation?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Tillotson, have you been a member of an organization known as the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not bring your membership in that organization to the attention of students at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I have before me a copy of the *Minnesota Daily* dated June 15, 1964 [Tillotson Exhibit No. 1], where it is stated at page 1 what appears to be a headline article about this committee's hearings, I mean the House Committee's hearings——

The CHAIRMAN. I can't hear you.

Mr. NITTLE.—appears to be a headline article about this committee's meeting, in which you are identified as a member of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, stated in this article to be "now defunct."

Are you a member of that Progressive Youth Organizing Committee?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Tillotson Exhibit No. 1" follows.)

TILLOTSON EXHIBIT No. 1

[The Minnesota Daily, June 15, 1964]

HUAC Hearings To Begin June 24 Students to Picket

by TOM BACHELDER

Eleven Minnesotans, including one University student, have been subpoenaed to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in its Minneapolis hearings, June 24 through 26. John Tillotson, who attended the University until spring quarter, received his subpoena last week.

A committee to protest HUAC's hearings was organized Friday night. The committee, which calls itself Citizens Against HUAC, will sponsor at least one picket of the hearings, according to Denis Wadley, CLA senior and public relations representative for the committee.

THE COMMITTEE is supported by the Young Democrats (YDFL), the Young Socialist Alliance and the Youth For Progressive Action. Other groups are expected to join at the steering committee meeting Tuesday.

Tillotson is a former president of the Student Peace Union. He was also a member of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee, now defunct.

Tillotson refused to speak for the other ten people who have been subpoenaed, but he did say that "HUAC has very carefully picked people who've been called names for a long time, who they think can't defend themselves."

HUAC did not tell Tillotson why he was being subpoenaed. "It may revolve around my student peace activities," he said.

Tillotson said that he will refuse to answer any questions put to him by the committee. He said he will plead the first, fifth and sixth amendments. "They can't cite me for contempt, because they honor the fifth amendment," he added.

Although some people have lost their jobs as a result of HUAC investigations, Tillotson does not expect this to happen to him. "Ten years ago, if I had planned to go into a profession or something, it would have hurt me much more," he said.

The names of the 11 people subpoenaed by HUAC were released to

the press last week. HUAC must have leaked out this information, Tillotson said, since there was no other way for the press to get it.

HUAC's rules, however, state that the names of people subpoenaed should be kept secret until the hearings start, Wadley said.

The picket will take place outside the Federal Courthouse, probably from eight a.m. to five p.m., June 24. Citizens Against HUAC may also picket the committee's arrival at the airport. A parade permit will also be applied for, Wadley said.

Mr. NITTLE. Is it now defunct?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you tell us the circumstances under which you first became associated with that organization?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you invited to participate in the creation of such an organization in this area by one Danny Rubin?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you ever discuss any phase of youth activity in the Minneapolis area with Danny Rubin?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee is informed that the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee was set up at a conference in Chicago on December 31, 1960. On December 22, 1960, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, J. Edgar Hoover, was quoted as saying that this conference was arranged by Communists and:

Its purpose is to formulate plans for a new national youth organization—one whose programs and activities will be clandestinely directed by Party members.

This statement appeared in a Department of Justice press release.

Were you aware during your membership in this Progressive Youth Organizing Committee that it was a Communist-created organization designed to influence youth?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Daniel Rubin to be a national official of the Communist Party charged with conducting the Communist Party's youth affairs?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I state for the record, Mr. Chairman, that Danny Rubin or Mortimer Daniel Rubin, in a report released July 1960 by the Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, was identified as having been a member of the Communist Party's National Committee and given full responsibility for the Communist Party's youth affairs.

The CHAIRMAN. He is in California, isn't he?

Mr. NITTLE. In New York at the present time, so far as I know.

Mortimer Daniel Rubin was described in the Attorney General's official report of June 1, 1963, as the national youth director and a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party. As a matter of fact, in hearings before the Subversive Activities Control Board an order was entered on December 4, 1963, against Mortimer Daniel Rubin requiring him to register as a member of the Communist Party under the Internal Security Act. The order described him as the national youth secretary of the Communist Party.

In the first issue of *New Horizons For Youth* of October 1960, Mortimer Daniel Rubin is identified in that publication as the editor. In subsequent publications he was identified as associate editor, and

finally in the spring of 1962 his name was dropped from the publication for some reason.

Now, Mr. Tillotson, the committee has information that you attended a conference of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee in New York City in June 1962 and another conference in June 1963. Did you attend either or both of these conferences?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Who paid your expenses for attendance at these conferences?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. While in New York City did you not engage in conferences with Danny Rubin?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you also engage in conferences with Marvin Markman?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated?

Mr. NITTLE. Was not Marvin Markman a leader on behalf of the Communist Party in creating this Progressive Youth Organizing Committee as an instrumentality of the national leadership of the Communist Party?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Marvin Markman to be a Communist Party member at the time of your attendance at the conferences in June 1962 and June 1963?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, the Committee on Un-American Activities received public testimony in February 1960 relating to Marvin Markman. The witness, Albert Gaillard, himself a former member of the Communist Party, identified Marvin Markman as a member of the Communist Party.

Now, Mr. Tillotson, were you also a member of an organization known as the Fair Play for Cuba Committee while in attendance at the University of Minnesota?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you participate in any way in organizing a chapter at the university or in the recruiting activities of that organization?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you take part in a so-called spontaneous demonstration as a member of the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, in a demonstration planned by members of that committee, in front of the North Rock Memorial Auditorium on the campus of the University of Minnesota in March of 1962?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you at any time distributed propaganda material in support of the Communist regime in Cuba on the campus of the University of Minnesota with the objective of injecting on the campus the Communist Party propaganda line with respect to it?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a photostatic copy of a leaflet captioned "What Are The Facts?", marked for identification as "Tillotson Exhibit No. 2," and I ask you whether or not this item was disseminated by you at a rally on the University of Minnesota campus on October 24, 1962, immediately following President Kennedy's announcement of the missile crisis in October of 1962?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

(Document marked "Tillotson Exhibit No. 2" follows.)

TILLOTSON EXHIBIT No.2

WHAT ARE THE FACTS?

1. We are heading toward war. The U.S. Department of Defense announced it will search and if necessary sink all ships en route to Cuba that may be carrying "offensive weapons". A U.S. Blockade of Cuba is an act of war.
2. The army has been directed by President Kennedy to "prepare for any eventualities...should these offensive preparations continue." Civil Defense units are being alerted. U.S. troops and warships are in the Caribbean. This means a war -- not just in Havana or Moscow, but in New York and Minneapolis. It means your life and that of your children -- even the future of the whole human race.
3. We claim to be insuring American safety; we are actually invoking a war. We have not pursued what the President called "a policy of patience and restraint". The U.S. collaborated in an invasion attempt in Cuba two years ago. As a consequence of this, and of our economic boycott, Cuba has turned to the Soviet Union for economic and military aid which includes missile bases.
4. If the Soviets have established offensive missile bases in Cuba, they are pursuing a policy like that of the United States in its establishment of bases around the Soviet Union. All missile bases, anywhere in the world constitute "a clear and present danger" to world peace and must be dismantled. The Cuban crisis is a dramatic symbol of the need for world disarmament.
5. President Kennedy has made war with Cuba, a de facto nuclear war with Russia. How long will tacit and counter-thrust diplomacy continue without resulting in nuclear war?
6. Senator Wayne Morse has warned that an attack upon Cuba would cost the United States "the support of the masses of the people of Latin America for decades" (New York Times, Sept. 1, 1962). This will disgrace and dishonor us in the eyes of the world. The world will raise a cry against U.S. lawlessness and the use of brute force.

WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

1. We should demand an end to the blockade. The blockade can trigger a nuclear war at any moment.
2. Cuba's president, Dorticos, recently said that Cuba would disarm completely in return for "effective guarantees and satisfactory proof" against renewed aggression such as the April 1961 invasion. This means that there is a basis for discussion of differences. It is imperative to our existence that we pursue discussions. Negotiations should come first, not war.
3. President Kennedy has asked the UN to order Cuba to dismantle their missile bases. We suggest that a UN police force in the Caribbean would be an "effective guarantee" against war. This would be a fair basis for agreement. Appeal to the President to try to work out our differences with Cuba. The urgency of this cannot be overemphasized.

(Organized by citizens concerned with the drive toward war with Cuba:
John Tillotson, 628 Jessamine, St. Paul; Lois Doty, 2725 Second Ave. S.,
Minneapolis; Kit Lyons, Carleton College, Northfield, Minn.)

Mr. NITTLE. The leaflet contains at the bottom the following statement :

(Organized by citizens concerned with the drive toward war with Cuba : John Tillotson, 628 Jessamine, St. Paul * * *.)

and includes the names of two other persons as well. Are you not the John Tillotson referred to as one of the organizers "concerned with the drive toward war with Cuba"?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. 628 Jessamine Street is the residence, or at that time was the residence, of Rose Renaud ; was it not ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you at any time on October 24, 1962, or in the month of October, a resident of 628 Jessamine Street, St. Paul ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. This leaflet, in response to a question contained in it, "What Should We Do?" gives three suggested courses of action, the first being "We should demand an end to the blockade," and urging an appeal to President Kennedy to try to work out differences with Cuba.

Was this document written for you by, or its contents suggested to you by, any person known to you to be a member of the Communist Party ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Who prepared the document ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Who financed the printing of the leaflet ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Who typed up the initial copy ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you not also used the address 628 Jessamine Street for the receipt of the Communist Party publication *New Horizons For Youth* ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Why did you not have this publication directed to your actual residence ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. While at the University of Minnesota were you also a member of the Student Peace Union ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you instructed by Betty Smith or any functionary of the Communist Party to infiltrate that organization on behalf of the Communist Party ?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not, in fact, distribute Exhibit 2 at a rally or demonstration of the Student Peace Union on October 24, 1962?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you also become a member of the Minnesota Turn Toward Peace Center at Twenty-seventh Avenue Southeast, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I have before me a copy of the letterhead of the Minnesota Turn Toward Peace Center and the name of John Tillotson appears on the printed portion, on the left side of the page, as a member of the executive council of that organization.

Are you the same John Tillotson who is a member of the executive council of the Minnesota Turn Toward Peace Center?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you instructed by any Communist Party functionary to infiltrate this organization?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. And was it your purpose in serving as a member of the executive council to attempt to inject into it or to utilize this organization as an agency or means for communicating the Communist Party line on particular issues of importance to the foreign policy of the United States?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you engage in activities for the Fair Play for Cuba Committee, the Student Peace Union, and the Minnesota Turn Toward Peace Center for the purpose of advancing the propaganda objectives and foreign policy of the Soviet Union and other Communist countries?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. I have before me a photostatic copy of an article that appeared in the *Minnesota Daily* of March 10, 1964. It is entitled "New Committee Formed For McCarran Protest." The article advises that a group was formed to picket the hearings in St. Paul on March 17 and 18 of the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board. The article states:

The Board will attempt to determine whether two Minneapolis residents should register as Communists under the provisions of the McCarran Internal Security Act.

The group, which calls itself the Ad Hoc Committee for Civil Liberties, met Friday and yesterday to organize and select a six-member steering committee.

The steering committee members named in the article included your name, John Tillotson, sophomore; the name of John Baker, a retired Minneapolis city employee; and others.

Did you participate in the initial organization of this committee?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Is not the John Baker named in this article the same John Baker who was identified in testimony of Mr. Boehnke as a Communist Party member and active on the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Was John Baker associated with you in this enterprise because of his assignment to activities of the Communist Party aimed toward discrediting the Internal Security Act of 1950?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet and caucus with John Baker at any Communist Party meeting for the purpose of establishing this Ad Hoc Committee for Civil Liberties?

Mr. TILLOTSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds previously stated.

Mr. NITTLE. The staff has no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Senner?

Mr. SENNER. I have no questions.

Mr. ICHORD. Mr. Bruce; Mr. Schadeberg, do you have any questions?

Mr. BRUCE. No questions.

Mr. SCHADEBERG. No questions.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness will be excused.

Mr. ICHORD. Call your next witness, please, Counsel.

Mr. NITTLE. Would Hanley Hemmingson please come forward?

Mr. ICHORD. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HANLEY LEON HEMMINGSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, SHELDON D. KARLINS

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state your name, full name, and address for the record?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. Hanley Leon Hemmingson, Warroad, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel, Mr. Hemmingson?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. Yes, sir.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel kindly identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. KARLINS. Sheldon D. Karlins, 512 Builders Exchange, the name is spelled with a "K".

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Hemmingson, when did you move to Warroad, Minnesota?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Prior to your residence in Warroad, did you reside at 1025 Knox Avenue North, in Minneapolis?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate

my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present occupation?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you in attendance at the hearing when Mr. Boehnke testified?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. He testified that you were a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party. Were you a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you still a member of the North Side Club of the Communist Party or have you been recently assigned to another Communist cell?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you met in cell meetings with the prior witness, John Forichette?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you meet in closed party meetings with Betty Smith, Ellen Davis, Claude McDonald, Martin Mackie, and Evelyn Borchardt at your residence?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you a member of Local 7 of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in Minneapolis?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know Archie Anderson to be a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was not Archie Anderson likewise a member of Local 7 of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in Minneapolis?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you not aware of the fact that Archie Anderson was expelled from the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners in 1963 due to Communist activities?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Had you met with Archie Anderson for the purpose of planning or engaging in union activities to further the aims of the Communist Party?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not know Martin Mackie to be a member of the same North Side Club of the Communist Party with you?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you aware that in 1959 Martin Mackie was barred from membership in the Carpenters Local No. 7 for falsely stating he was not a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you, in fact, named as a voucher for Martin Mackie in his application by signing his application for membership in the Carpenters Local No. 7 on June 22, 1959?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Since you assumed residence at Warroad, Minnesota, have you continued to engage in disseminating the propaganda line of the Communist Party in support of the goals of the world Communist movement?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I hand you a copy of a "letter to the editor" published in the *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* of April 5, 1964, entitled or captioned by the editor as "South Vietnam Action Opposed." It is signed by Hanley Hemmingson, Warroad, Minnesota. The letter, as published, is as follows:

What right do our armed forces have for being in South Viet-Nam? When men and material were first sent to this former French colony, there was no justification for military action. We were told that our forces were "advising and training" South Viet-Nam soldiers. These activities are now costing more than 1 million dollars per day, and about 150 American soldiers have lost their lives in direct military action. Now there is talk of a much greater involvement.

Who wants this war? Only those who profit by war and those whose military careers are aided by conflict. Our forces should be withdrawn at once.

Are you the author of the article and did you cause it to be published in that newspaper?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you, as a Communist Party member, more concerned about the success of the expansionist efforts of the Communists than the lives being lost by American soldiers in resistance to Communist aggression?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now, as of this moment, a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I have no further questions of this witness.

Mr. ICHORD. Any questions from the committee?

The witness will be excused.

I think, Mr. Counsel, before you call your next witness that we should take a 5-minute recess in order for the reporter to rest his fingers. The committee will be in recess for 5 minutes.

(A short recess was taken.)

Mr. ICHORD. The committee will come to order.

Mr. Counsel, will you call your last witness, please?

Mr. NITTLE. Yes, sir.

Would Tania Hemmingson come forward, please?

Mr. ICHORD. Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give before this committee will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I do.

TESTIMONY OF HILDA TANIA HEMMINGSON, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, SHELDON D. KARLINS

Mr. NITTLE. Would you kindly state your full name and residence for the record?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. My name is Hilda Tania Hemmingson, and I live at Warroad, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you represented by counsel?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. Yes, I am.

Mr. NITTLE. Would counsel please identify himself for the record, stating his name and office address?

Mr. KARLINS. Sheldon D. Karlins, 512 Builders Exchange, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Hemmingson, how long have you resided at Warroad, Minnesota?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not, prior to your residence at Warroad, a resident of Minneapolis?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you state the date and place of your birth?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline—I was born on March 29, 1914.

Mr. NITTLE. Where?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. The committee, Mrs. Hemmingson, has information that you were born abroad, to be exact, in Kishinev, Rumania, and is interested in ascertaining whether or not you are a citizen of the United States. Are you a naturalized citizen of the United States?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Would you relate the extent of your formal education?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What is your present employment?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you been known by names other than Hilda Tania Hemmingson?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was your maiden name Hilda Roast, R-o-a-s-t?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you also used the name Tuba, T-u-b-a, Pecinic, P-e-c-i-n-i-c?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have you ever been known under the name Tania Moss, M-o-s-s?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you hear the testimony of Mr. Boehnke in the course of these hearings?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified that he knew you to be an active member of the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born. Were you active in that organization?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you know this organization to be a branch of the national unit known as the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of your activity on behalf of that organization?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. While you engaged in these activities on behalf of this organization, were you aware that it was a Communist organization?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. What was the purpose of the organization?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this organization, to your knowledge, organized for the actual purpose of conducting agitation and propaganda aimed to repeal the Immigration and Nationality Act, particularly those provisions which prevent the entry into the United States of Communist aliens and provides for the deportation of Communists?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. In a report of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Report No. 1182, of August 16, 1957, on the subject "Communist Political Subversion," this committee declared that the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born was a "regional" organization of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born; that the Minnesota Committee was established on May 21, 1952, with Mrs. Alma Foley as secretary. *The Lamp*, which is the official publication of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, in its June-July 1952 issue, announced that representatives of defense committees meeting in Minneapolis voted to establish a "provisional" Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, the immediate purpose of which was to defend Peter Warhol, Charles Rowoldt, and Harry Roast, against whom there were deportation orders by reason of Communist activities.

What knowledge do you have of the creation of the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. You know Alma Foley, of course?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. She was identified as a leading official of this committee, of the Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, by Mr. Boehnke. How long have you known Alma Foley?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Boehnke testified that you attended a number of closed meetings of the Communist Party. Have you attended closed Communist Party meetings in the Minneapolis area?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Have not such meetings been held at your residence, your former Minneapolis residence at Knox Avenue?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you not formerly reside at 1025 Knox Avenue North in Minneapolis as Mr. Boehnke testified?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was this address also the residence of John Forichette?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Were you not also a member of the Freedom of the Press Committee while residing in Minneapolis?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Among other functions of the Freedom of the Press Committee that you may have attended, did you not attend a picnic sponsored by the Freedom of the Press Committee on September 10, 1961, at Lake Minnetonka?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Hemmingson, I hand you a copy of a photograph marked for identification as "Tania Hemmingson Exhibit No. 1," which the committee is informed was taken at this picnic. The photograph includes a woman in a standing position, wearing apparently a dark spotted dress, the only person identified as standing in this picture.

I ask you whether or not you are the person, the lady standing in that photograph?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was not that a true reproduction of a scene or incident at the picnic on September 10, 1961, at Lake Minnetonka?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I offer this exhibit in evidence.

Mr. ICHORD. There being no objection it will be received in evidence and marked as "Tania Hemmingson Exhibit No. 1."

(Document marked "Tania Hemmingson Exhibit No. 1," and retained in committee files.)

Mr. NITTLE. Have you attended other functions of Communist-front groups in the Minneapolis area?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may

violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you attend a meeting at the Andrews Hotel on January 14, 1962, sponsored by the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was your presence there in support of the objectives of that organization?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me—

Mr. NITTLE. Have you made financial contributions to that organization?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Was it known to you to be an objective of this organization to obtain the repeal of security legislation?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. At the meeting of the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights of January 14, 1962, was not John Abt, the Communist Party attorney, the featured speaker?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Do you know John Abt to be the Communist Party attorney?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Did you have knowledge at that time of any testimony received relating to John J. Abt, given by Whittaker Chambers before this committee—testimony which this committee received from him on August 3, 1948?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mr. Chairman, I would like to state for purposes of the record that Whittaker Chambers testified before this committee on August 3, 1948, that John J. Abt was a member of the so-called Ware-Abt-Witt group in the early 1930's, which was composed of Communist Party members employed by various agencies of the United States Government at that time. Abt held legal positions with various U.S. Government agencies from 1933 until December of 1938. He was in

the legal division of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration when Chambers knew him. Chambers stated that this underground Communist group to which Abt belonged was organized to carry out the Communist Party's plan to work its members into high policymaking positions in our Government, with espionage as one of its eventual objectives. There was other testimony given with respect to him by Elizabeth Bentley, which I will not relate at this time.

Mrs. Hemmingson, did you know John Abt to be in attendance at that meeting for the purpose of supporting the objectives of the Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Mrs. Hemmingson, the committee is in possession of information, which it believes to be reliable, that during 1948 you were a member of the Communist Party in Minneapolis. Were you a member of the Communist Party at that time?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. Are you now a member of the Communist Party or under its discipline?

Mrs. HEMMINGSON. I respectfully decline to answer this question on the grounds that any answer given may incriminate me or may violate my rights under the first, fifth, or sixth amendments of the United States Constitution.

Mr. NITTLE. I have no further questions, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. The witness will be excused.

Mr. Bruce, I understand that does conclude the witnesses to be heard. I understand you have an observation to make at this time.

Mr. BRUCE. The only observation I would like to make for the record is that what we have seen in approximately 3 days of hearings here in Minneapolis, Minnesota, certainly should give encouragement and strengthening of dedication to those who believe in a free system. What we have heard has been an example of strength.

We are all aware, and it is on the record, that the Communist Party of the United States of America is a part of a worldwide organization that is dedicated to the overthrow of our system. And yet, unlike events that have happened in other countries in very recent years, in our society the right to be heard does not beget the liquidation that has happened in Cuba or has happened throughout the years in the Soviet Union and other Communist countries. But in our system the right to be heard, the right to have fair presentation, the right to invoke the Constitution of the United States with its provisions, has never been more clear than it has been here in these last 3 days.

The opportunity provided the witnesses who had been named, or to individuals who had been named in executive hearings behind closed doors in advance, to be notified that they had been named and who had named them, be given the opportunity to come in and voluntarily present their witnesses, present evidence to the contrary, certainly

is an exciting and a wonderful thing in an age when totalitarianism seems to be moving ahead so rapidly.

The fact that the right to be sitting in front of the building in a picket line, orderly, well-mannered pickets; to come into the room and listen as they lay down their picket signs; to participate as observers in the due process of law, I don't know when I have ever been more proud of being an American citizen, to know that the rights of individuals to dissent, to invoke the Constitution.

I think it is significant and interesting that of all the witnesses that were called, all except one of those who had been named, invoked the fifth amendment.

One further observation.

Mr. ICHORD. Of course, that is their right, constitutional right.

Mr. BRUCE. Absolutely; I would not change it for the world. It is a very basic right that protects the innocent as well as the guilty.

One point I would like to make. For a long time, as Chairman Willis stated earlier, those who have served their country in the capacity of undercover agents for the Federal Bureau of Investigation have been subjected to the most bitter type of harassment from the official Communist press, the front press, and occasionally from some other areas who are misguided in their interpretation and understanding of the role of the FBI undercover agent. I think it is interesting to note that those who were named in secret testimony by FBI undercover agents, not one of them, not one of them either in the opportunity to appear voluntarily and give their evidence, produce their witnesses, took advantage of it, and not one, not one contradicted the testimony of the FBI undercover agents before this committee.

I have nothing further to say. Thank you for the opportunity, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ICHORD. The chairman of the full committee, Congressman Willis, and also chairman of this subcommittee, had to leave early because of other legislative business, and as acting chairman I would like to make a few observations as to what I consider to be the import of the hearings which we have had here in the great city of Minneapolis.

The hearings have not produced any startling information. The committee did not expect these hearings to produce any startling information. I say this even though there was evidence adduced that Communists look to a day when they will blow up bridges and engage in other acts of physical destruction prior to seizing power by actual violence. That testimony was given by Mrs. Gordienko, and since I pursued a line of questioning I would like to make sure that the audience and press understand our procedure.

Rule XI, 26(m), a rule of the House of Representatives, provides that if the committee determines that evidence or testimony at an investigative hearing may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate any person, that testimony shall first be taken in executive session. Mrs. Gordienko was instructed by the staff of that rule not to mention any person in connection with Communist activity unless they have had a chance to come in, without a public hearing, in an executive session, a closed hearing, and voluntarily give the committee information or statements which would repudiate the testimony that has been given against them.

All of the witnesses here today were given that opportunity to appear in executive session and explain, refute, before their name was

mentioned publicly—with the exception of John Tillotson whose name was mentioned inadvertently prior to the time set for him to voluntarily appear before the committee if he so desired. That was a slip-up on the part of the committee. Everyone makes a mistake, and gentlemen, I hope you will not make that mistake again. Personally, I rather doubt that he would have appeared in executive session even if this slip-up had not occurred, and the fact of the matter is that he did not avail himself of the opportunity when the time came. The committee, however, does owe Mr. Tillotson an apology.

I make this statement that the hearings have not produced any startling information even though they have produced evidence of Communist Party discussion of plans to physically harm a former member who was working against, and unquestionably hurting, the party. I say that even though they have produced evidence of the party's subservience to the Soviet Union and the training of its leaders in that country. There is nothing startling about this information, in the sense that other hearings of this committee have produced similar information. Other hearings have produced evidence of Communist plans and attempts to infiltrate and control political groups, civil rights organizations, PTA's, local governments, and take advantage of our youth, et cetera.

The hearings, however, I think, have been fruitful. They have produced elements of information desired and needed by the committee to assist in its legislative duties, the kind of information which was referred to by Chairman Willis in his opening remarks. This information will serve not only the committee, but the entire Congress, because after all this committee is just an arm of the Congress. The power to investigate is essential to the very existence of a Congress, and it is particularly essential when you have a conspiracy which is headed up by the Communist Party as its instrument to conquer the world through international communism.

It is the committee's hope that the information produced here will have a further use and that it will help to, that is, it will help to keep the American people generally, and the people of this area, alert to the fact that communism is a very real problem and danger, both here at home as well as abroad; that it must be fought here as well as abroad. Here it must be fought fairly, intelligently, and effectively, if our freedoms as Americans are to be preserved.

The hearings here have not been trials. No one has been on trial before this committee. They have been conducted in open session and certainly it could not be said that they are star-chamber proceedings, which you would have under a nation like Russia or some other of the totalitarian powers. The hearings certainly provide no basis for hysteria, but neither do they provide any basis for complacency. Their import, I believe, will be clear to all intelligent, clear-thinking Americans.

In closing, I would like to express the appreciation of the committee to Chief Marshal Hemenway, the deputy marshal of Minneapolis, as well as the police, city police of Minneapolis, for your splendid job in maintaining order throughout these hearings. You are to be commended greatly.

I wish to express the appreciation of the committee to Judge Devitt for the use of these chambers. I hope we haven't worked the

reporter too hard throughout these hearings. I want to express the appreciation of the committee to the people of Minneapolis for the hospitality which you have extended to the committee. It has been many years since I myself have been here in Minneapolis. Some of the members of the committee are visiting Minneapolis for the first time. I could not help but be impressed by the beautiful downtown city district surrounding this Federal building. You have made great progress in the years since I have been here. You have a beautiful city; you have a great State; you have a great people. It has been a great pleasure to visit you here.

If there are no further statements, as acting chairman I will declare this meeting in adjournment until further call by the Chair.

(Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., Friday, June 26, 1964, the committee adjourned subject to the call of the Chair.)

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¹ Incorrectly spelled Weir.

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District Executive Committee	1675, 1676, 1759, 1760, 1790-1792, 1803, 1842, 1859, 1869, 1892, 1900
Youth section or movement	1764-1766, 1813, 1825, 1901, 1902
Minnesota	1695, 1714, 1802, 1810, 1864
State Convention, November 1959 and February 1960	1697-1699, 1708, 1720-1722, 1724, 1880
State Board	1694, 1695, 1720, 1721, 1724, 1790, 1812, 1824, 1842, 1859, 1883
State Committee	1694, 1698, 1702, 1708, 1720, 1721, 1724, 1729
Minneapolis-St. Paul area	1677-1679
Cells within the University of Minnesota	1679, 1832
Professional cell	1679, 1681, 1812, 1813, 1843, 1844, 1859
Student cell	1679, 1815, 1843
Women's cell	1678, 1810-1813, 1823, 1841
Earl Sorg Club	1773
Industrial 1 Club	1668, 1698
Industrial 2 Club	1668, 1698
Lenin branch	1668, 1698
Minneapolis City Committee	1673, 1677, 1682, 1702, 1720, 1760, 1761, 1771, 1789, 1862, 1883
Miscellaneous Branch	1683, 1880
North Side Club	1668, 1669, 1673-1677, 1679, 1683, 1695-1701, 1703, 1705, 1720-1724, 1751, 1757-1759, 1761, 1762, 1765, 1776, 1789, 1801, 1803, 1805, 1806, 1813-1815, 1823, 1877-1881, 1894, 1901, 1913, 1914
Youth Organizing Club	1751, 1761, 1762, 1901, 1903
Ralph Taylor Club	1761
St. Paul City Committee	1673, 1760
South Side Club	1668, 1682, 1698, 1751, 1761, 1862
Trade Union cell	1679, 1813, 1815, 1862
University Village Club	1846
Women's branch	1668, 1698
North Dakota	1883, 1884
New York District (New York)	1687

Communist Party, Soviet Union :	
Congresses :	Page
Twentieth Congress, February 1956, Moscow-----	1682, 1868
Communist Political Association (May 1944 to July 1945)-----	1802
National Structure :	
National Committee-----	1802, 1806, 1814
Congregational Christian Church (Plumstedville, Pa.)-----	1799
Congregational Church (East Hartford, Conn.)-----	1798
Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)-----	1707, 1785
Cook Paint & Varnish Co.-----	1892
Cornell University (Ithaca, N.Y.)-----	1794, 1799

D

Democratic-Farmer-Labor (Party), Minnesota-----	1668,
1669, 1699, 1705-1707, 1721, 1727-1729, 1790, 1791	
DFL Clubs-----	1700, 1727
Fifth Ward Club (Minneapolis)-----	1669, 1699, 1704-1706
Democratic Party-----	1668
Detroit Peace Crusade Committee-----	1799
Dunwoody Industrial Institute-----	1891, 1892

E

Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, International Union of (IUE)---	1727
Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, United (UE)-----	1785,
1794, 1798, 1822	
Local 707 (Cleveland)-----	1799
Local 1152 (Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1676, 1784, 1785
Electrical Workers, International Brotherhood of (IBEW)-----	1710
Elks. (See Improved Benevolent & Protective Order of the Elks of the World.)	

F

Fair Play for Cuba Committee-----	1907, 1911
Fellowship House-----	1710
Freedom of the Press Committee. (See National Committee for Freedom of the Press.)	
Fur and Leather Workers Union of the United States and Canada, International-----	1795, 1799

G

General Motors Corp. :	
Trucks and Coach Division (Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1888
Gopher Bumper Exchange, Inc.-----	1677, 1806, 1849, 1866-1868
Gopher Bumper Plating, Inc. (See Gopher Bumper Exchange, Inc.)	

I

Improved Benevolent & Protective Order of the Elks of the World (Washington, D.C.)-----	1798
International Labor Defense-----	1785

J

Jewish Young People's League-----	1710
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K

KSTP (television station, Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1770
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L

Labor Youth League-----	1710, 1731, 1813, 1814, 1846
League of Women Voters-----	1779
Lenin Institute (also known as Lenin School of Political Warfare)-----	1673,
1676, 1759, 1896	
Leonard, Street and Deinard (Law Firm) (Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1828
Long Beach Peace Council-----	1798
Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, International-----	1798

M

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Marine Cooks and Stewards, National Union of-----	1798
Maryland Committee for Peace-----	1798
Metropolitan Community Church (Chicago, Ill.)-----	1798
Michigan Peace Council-----	1799
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, International Union of-----	1778
Local 890 (Bayard, N. Mex.)-----	1799
Minneapolis Civil Service Commission-----	1874-1878, 1886-1893
Minneapolis Council for Peace. (<i>See</i> American Peace Crusade, Minneapolis chapter.)-----	
Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co.-----	1892
Minneapolis Independent Negro Voters League-----	1727
Minnesota Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (<i>see also</i> American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born)-----	1672, 1753-1755, 1777, 1821, 1917, 1918
Minnesota Committee To Defend the Bill of Rights-----	1675, 1684, 1714, 1771-1774, 1912, 1920, 1921
Minnesota Turn Toward Peace Center. (<i>See</i> entry under Turn Toward Peace.)-----	
Morton Sobell Defense Committee (Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1752

N

NAACP. (<i>See</i> National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP))-----	
National Assembly for Democratic Rights, September 23, 24, 1961 (New York City)-----	1714, 1773, 1774
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)-----	1679, 1710, 1727, 1814
Kansas City-----	1798
National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy:	
Twin City Sane Nuclear Policy Committee (Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn.)-----	1727
National Committee for Freedom of the Press:	
Minneapolis Freedom of the Press Committee-----	1674, 1683, 1684, 1691, 1692, 1694, 1704, 1706, 1707, 1716-1718, 1723, 1760, 1762, 1764, 1767, 1768, 1788, 1821, 1823, 1882, 1899, 1919.
National Committee To Abolish the Un-American Activities Committee--	1674
National Federation for Constitutional Liberties-----	1784, 1785
National Negro Congress-----	1785
Nazarene Church (Chicago, Ill.)-----	1798
Neighborhood Women for Peace-----	1798
New Horizons for Youth Committee-----	1714, 1715

P

Packhouse Workers of America, United-----	1727, 1778
Painters, Decorators and Paperhangers of America, Brotherhood of (Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1705
Local 386 (Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1791, 1792
Parent Teachers Association (PTA) (Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1669, 1701, 1723, 1724, 1750
Peace Information Center-----	1795
People's Party, Connecticut. (<i>See</i> Progressive Party, Connecticut.)-----	
Philadelphia Fellowship Commission-----	1710
Progressive Party-----	1727, 1798, 1799
Connecticut People's Party-----	1798
Progressive Youth Organizing Committee-----	1670, 1671, 1683, 1711, 1713, 1714, 1716, 1717, 1725, 1903-1907

R

Republican Party (Columbia, S.C.)-----	1799
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S

Socialist Labor Party-----	1672, 1752
Socialist Youth Union of Philadelphia-----	1710, 1744

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Spencer Cooperative Society-----	1799
Student Peace Union-----	1905, 1910, 1911
Swarthmore College (Swarthmore, Pa.)-----	1710

T

Tri-City Civil Liberties Committee-----	1799
Turn Toward Peace:	
Minnesota Turn Toward Peace Center-----	1911
Twin City Sane Nuclear Policy Committee. (<i>See</i> entry under National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy.)	

U

UN Club-----	1710
United States Government:	
Defense, Department of:	
National Security Agency (NSA)-----	1688
Immigration and Naturalization Service. (<i>See</i> entry under Justice Department.)	
Justice Department:	
Federal Bureau of Investigation-----	1688,
1690, 1705, 1718, 1752, 1753, 1775, 1808, 1820, 1821, 1824, 1922	
Immigration and Naturalization Service-----	1815
National Security Agency. (<i>See</i> entry under Defense, Dept. of.)	
Senate, United States:	
Internal Security Subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee----	1755
Subversive Activities Control Board-----	1669,
1672, 1677, 1687, 1720, 1755, 1765, 1784, 1786, 1787, 1789, 1790, 1793,	
1811, 1846, 1859, 1881, 1906, 1911.	
Supreme Court-----	1765
University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) :	
Eugen (sic) Debs Society-----	1744
University of Minnesota (Minneapolis, Minn.)-----	1675,
1678, 1681, 1683, 1811, 1815, 1828-1830, 1836-1838, 1841-1846, 1859,	
1887, 1888, 1894-1896, 1898, 1899, 1901-1903, 1905, 1907, 1908, 1910	
Marxist Socialist Club-----	1678,
1809, 1810, 1812, 1814, 1829, 1830, 1837, 1840, 1841	
University of Pennsylvania (Philadelphia, Pa.)-----	1710
University of Wisconsin (Madison, Wis.) :	
Socialist Club-----	1744

W

WBAL (radio station, New York City)-----	1707
Wesley Methodist Foundation-----	1753
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom-----	1702, 1779
Worker Bookshop-----	1753, 1754, 1757
World Youth Festivals:	
Eighth Youth Festival, July 29-August 6, 1962, Helsinki, Finland----	1675,
1676, 1683, 1895, 1901, 1902	
Worthington Junior College (Worthington, Minn.)-----	1887, 1891, 1893

Y

Yenching University (China)-----	1794
Young Americans for Freedom (YAF)-----	1778
Young Communist League (YCL)-----	1731, 1813, 1865
Young Democrats (YDFL)-----	1905
Young Progressives of America-----	1710
Young Socialist Alliance-----	1905
Youth for Political Action-----	1671, 1683, 1717, 1899
Youth Publications, Inc-----	1732, 1734-1736, 1740, 1741

PUBLICATIONS

C

Capital, Das (Kapital) (book)-----	1814
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D

Daily Worker-----	1759
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L

Lamp, The (publication of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born)-----	Page 1754, 1918
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M

Minneapolis Star-----	1864
Minneapolis Sunday Tribune-----	1915
Minnesota Daily-----	1911

N

New Horizons For Youth-----	1670,
1671, 1676, 1708-1710, 1714-1716, 1730-1741, 1744, 1748, 1896, 1906	

S

Studies on the Left-----	1744
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V

Value, Price and Profit (Leontiev)-----	1814
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W

Worker, The-----	1692, 1699, 1704, 1706, 1707, 1760, 1767
Midwest Edition-----	1759
Worthington Daily Globe-----	1888

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